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NARRATIVE

OF

A JOURNEY ROUND THE DEAD SEA

AND IN

THE BIBLE LANDS.

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NARRATIVE

OF A JOURNEY

ROUND THE DEAD SEA

AND IN

THE BIBLE LANDS

IN 1850 AND 1851.

BY F. DE SAULCY,

Member of the French Institute.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,

By COUNT EDWARD DE WARREN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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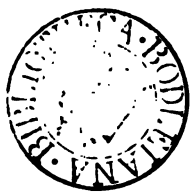

JOURNEY IN SYRIA AND ROUND THE DEAD SEA.

January 25th, 1851.

We have passed an excellent night, notwithstanding the incessant howling of the jackals, who seem to be quite domesticated in the streets of Hebron. We have slept like so many logs of wood, and still I have some recollection that I heard the door of our room, which opens by merely touching it with your finger, creaking upon its hinges. Who can have been our nocturnal visitor? I cannot guess, and at first am not much inclined to inquire; nothing has disappeared, all is in its right place: but, abomination of the wilderness! the reader may remember that Papigny had killed a pretty humming-bird in the Rhor-Safieh, and that I had appropriated to myself the feathery remains of the poor little creature. In addition to this, between Er-Ramaïl and Djenbeh, Belly had shot another beautiful bird, something like a partridge, but yellow in colour, and with a brown rim round the neck. The remains of both were reserved for the scalpel of the naturalist, and Belly intended to dissect them with great care as soon as we

should arrive at Jerusalem. And now a wretched cat, even a greater admirer of birds than ourselves, has stolen in secretly, and feasted upon both our treasures, thus saving our friend the pleasure he had anticipated. This was the intruder I heard prowling about our room, like a thief in the night; and of our two highly-valued acquirements, he has left us nothing but a few feathers, and some odd fragments of legs, as melancholy reminiscences. I writhe with vexation on discovering this mysterious iniquity; I abuse everybody, be they never so innocent, and vow deadly vengeance on the perpetrator, if chance will only throw him in my way. But, after a little reflection, I consider that were I to rave until to-morrow, it would not bring back either a leg or a feather of the two lost birds; I therefore adopt the wiser course of restraining my useless anger, and if I indulge it, I do so internally and without display.

We have neither time nor inclination to tarry long in Hebron; on the contrary, we are most impatient to return to Jerusalem. Accordingly, we mount our horses, and resume our journey, on a fair, clear, but bitter cold morning. We leave the town by the same gate through which we entered it yesterday; passing again along the large pond which I have already mentioned; then we turn to the right, between the pond and the Mohammedan burying-ground, through a grove of magnificent olive-trees, and soon find ourselves on a paved ascent—in all probability the ancient high-road from Hebron to Jerusalem. This ascent is now transformed into a torrent, occupying the whole breadth of the road, and impetuously rolling down to the bottom of the valley of Hebron;

a rush of waters inundating all the surrounding country, and produced by the incessant rains of the last few days.

To the right and left of the road are beautiful vineyards, interspersed frequently with huts and round towers, consisting, no doubt, of working stations and watch-houses, intended to accommodate those who are placed there for the protection of property. This mode of watching is not of recent invention in Judæa, for the prophet Isaiah informs us that in his day it was already in use. We read at Chap. i. ver. 8, "And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard." And, further on, Chap. v. ver. 1, 2, "Now will I sing to my well beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My well beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill.—And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein; and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes." Here again we have another proof that nothing changes in this country; the customs of thirty centuries ago are in use to this day, and exactly after the same fashion. As soon as we have reached the upper levels, we encounter, to the left of our road, perceptible ruins called Kharbet-er-Ram, and a little further on, others named Kharbet-en-Nasara. What Rama can this be? I am unable to answer. As to the ruins bearing the name of En-Nasara (the Christians), they might be supposed to owe their origin to the Crusades; but I am far from asserting that such is the case. To assign with any degree of certainty to a ruined locality in this country, an origin so compara-

tively modern, would require a much more detailed investigation than I was able to bestow in the present instance.

As we proceed, we perceive on our right the village of Halhoul, and some time after, towards the east, that of Ech-Chioukh. Here there are no grounds for doubt: we have certainly before us a biblical station which is named, in Joshua (xv. 58) amongst the cities of the hill country of Judah,—Halhul, Beth-zur, and Gedor. A modern village of Beth-zur still exists, at a short distance westward of Halhoul; and to the north-west of this same village, we reach, some minutes later, another called Ed-Deroueh, which may possibly have taken the place of the scriptural Gedor. Still further on, and to the right of the road, other extensive ruins appear, called Abou-fid, having every appearance of a remote origin.

Passing in front of a village situated at some distance from the left of our road, and named Beit-Oummar, we arrive at the entrance of a delightful valley, planted with fine trees shading a fountain called Bir-el-Hadji-Ramadan. This valley is called Ouad-el-Biar (the valley of the wells), so named on account of some large wells that are found in the neighbourhood, and in all probability of very ancient origin, for the labour of their construction was certainly never undertaken by the Arabs of the living generation. When we reach the bottom of the Ouad-el-Biar, the road winds up the curtain of hills that encloses the valley, through naked rocks and narrow paths, almost impassable for horses. After meeting several remnants of ancient buildings, we arrive at the

crest of a mountain, from which you discover immediately under your feet, to the right, and at the bottom of a green-looking valley, several ruined enclosures, bearing the name of Deïr-el-Benat. A convent of nuns has evidently existed here at the period of the Crusades. A little further on, to the westward, we see the village of Ertas,* and in front, a fortress of the middle ages still in tolerable repair. This is the Qalaát-el-Bourak. Before coming to this fortress we pass three enormous cisterns, known to travellers under the name of the reservoirs or tanks of Solomon; and, lastly, to the north-west of the Qalaát-el-Bourak, an important structure appears called El-Khoudr—an ancient convent dedicated to St. George. The view from this high ground is beautiful and extensive, and such as you may gaze on for hours without weariness.

We should have been delighted to halt here for breakfast, with such a panorama under our eyes; but it is equally necessary and agreeable to have water to drink when you are engaged in eating, and this elementary consideration determined us to descend to the foot of the walls of the Qalaát-el-Bourak, where an abundant spring, that contributes its share towards filling the reservoirs of Solomon, promised all the refreshment we could look for in the desert. In a few minutes we

* Might not the village of Ertas be identified with the Arethusa mentioned by Josephus (Ant. Jud. XIV. iv. 4) as having been conquered from the Jews by Pompey the Great, and afterwards restored to its inhabitants with Marissa, Azoth, and Jamnia. Josephus, in this same passage, says that these towns were all in the interior of the land, and since Marissa must have been in the vicinity of the spot in question, it is very possible that the modern Ertas should be the Ἀρέθουσα of Josephus. This historian repeats the same notice of Arethusa in his narrative of the Jewish war (I. vii. 7.)

arrived: our carpet was spread exactly above the fountain; we stretched ourselves upon the turf, and did ample credit to our half-starved fowls and hard-boiled eggs, whilst we dwelt most complacently on the thought that we were about to re-enter Jerusalem, and to enjoy at least a few days' rest, of which the whole party stood greatly in need.

During our repast, the Turkish governor of the castle, at the foot of which we had established ourselves, came forth from the fort, on horseback, accompanied by three or four other Turks of the old school, dressed according to the ancient costume. These gentlemen were going out for an airing; they did not condescend to favour us with the slightest attention, and we returned their politeness by similar neglect. Our scheikhs especially, when looking at them as they passed, assumed an expression of profound contempt, which those who were the object of this demonstration could scarcely construe into a mark of deference, however their self-love might dictate to them to do so. In this country the Turks affect to despise the Arabs, of whom in reality they stand in dread; whilst the Arabs thoroughly despise the Turks, and never fail expressing this feeling when they find themselves beyond the walls of Jerusalem. This means in point of fact that the Ottoman dominion extends as far as the city walls, but beyond this barrier it exists only by the sufferance of the Bedouin tribes. It requires no very profound prophet, to foretel that, ere long, the Turkish race will be entirely expelled from all the countries where the Arab is the indigenous offspring of the soil. Those reflections passed across

my mind as we were breakfasting by the side of Solomon's tanks, though I little expected at the moment, that in less than two years, the same Scheikh Abd-Allah, whose visit I had received in Hebron, would take permanent possession of that town, expelling all the Turks who had hitherto exercised the sovereignty there; and that the Pacha of Jerusalem, on issuing out with such troops as he could collect, to repress the rebellion, would receive a lesson when half-way, to teach him to keep quiet henceforth in the head-quarters of his pachalic; and that he would hasten back to Jerusalem, to shut himself up in that strong-hold, much faster than he had sallied forth.

After an hour's delay, close to the Qalaát-el-Bourak, we mount our horses again and resume our march. We soon cross the Ouad-et-Thaamera, and here, the last of our faithful followers halt, to take leave of us and return to their tents. Hamdan and Abou-Daouk alone remain. Leaving Bethlehem on our right, we pass within sight of the villages of Beit-Djala,* of Nahhalin, of Er-Bezeth,† of Beit-Safafa, and of Maleha, this last giving its name to the Ouad-el-Maleha. All these localities are situated on the hills to our left, from

* Beit-Djala is most likely the Giloh (גלה) mentioned amongst the cities in the mountains, of the tribe of Judah (Joshua xv. 51). In close connection with Giloh, the same verse mentions the village of Helon (חלי) which I am much tempted to identify with the village of Nahhalin, situated so close to Beit-Djala. [This identity is the more probable as the syllable Nah is evidently here a corruption of the article; Nah-halin is no other than En-Halin. *Note by the Translator.*]

† Er-Bezeth is perhaps the place where Bacchides encamped on his way from Jerusalem, (1 Maccabees lxxv, 19). The name of this place is written Βηζέθ or Βηζαέθ; but Josephus writes it Βηθζηθώ (Ant. Jud. XII. xi. 1), and tells us that Bacchides came to attack Judas Maccabæus, who was encamped on this spot.

which we are increasing our distance, to fall in again with the road to Bethlehem, at the spot where stands the tomb of Rachel. We observed on the heights situated at a few thousand yards to the westward of the line of villages mentioned above, a station called El-Kabou, close to which is another small village named El-Howaladjah. Matteo informs me, that at a distance of half-an-hour's march from El-Kabou, there is a village called Battir, containing a fine fountain ;—to the right of Battir, and on the height commanding this village, there are ruins. Lastly, between El-Kabou and Jerusalem, is the convent of St. John, not far from which are the ruins of Modeïm, the native land of the Maccabees ; their mausoleum was erected there, ornamented with pyramids, of which the historian Josephus has left us a pompous description.

I learnt also from Matteo that at the distance of a few leagues in a due westerly direction, from El-Bourak, there is a village with ruins, called Choueïkah. This is unquestionably the Socoh of the translators of the Bible, mentioned in verse 35, chapter xv of Joshua, as amongst the cities of the plain ; since this Socoh (שוכה, *properly* Chouïkah), is named with Jarmuth, as lying in close vicinity to each other; and since also there exists in the immediate neighbourhood of Choueïkah, a village which is still called Jarmuth.

Let us not omit to observe that we find enumerated amongst the cities of the mountainous district of Judah another Socoh (verse 48), as also Shamir, and Jattir. There can be no confusion between these two localities of the same name. Might not the second one be iden-

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likely to meet with at our entrance into Jérusalem, had despatched a good runner who, for the remuneration of a few piastres, was carrying our *clean bill of health* to the sanitary authorities of the sacred city.

As we continue our march as fast as possible, we meet some Bethlehemites at Mar-Elias, on their way from Jerusalem, who confirm the agreeable intelligence that we are doomed to sleep five nights more under canvas. The dragoman, Francis, who had started from Hebron early in the morning, and long in advance of us, to provide our lodgings, has been placed, by way of preliminary, under quarantine at the Bab-el-Khalil,—where he is closely guarded, as if he were actually infected with the plague, which he is not. The reader may imagine how anxious and angry we are at the same time: at length, we traverse the intervening distance, and reach the city gate. Francis has just been restored to liberty, and we are permitted to enter freely, thanks to our good runner from Hebron. I give the poor fellow twenty piastres, and he considers himself royally paid for his trouble, though the reward is not much.

The first person I set my eyes upon is our kind friend the Abbé Michon, who having returned only a few hours before us, from his excursion to Beyrout, has come to wait our arrival at the gate by which we are expected to enter, as soon as he heard that our dragoman, Francis, had made his appearance in Jerusalem. He had been already greeted with the unwelcome intelligence of our deaths, which had been currently reported as certain for a week. Even our friend, M. Botta, was

not without some anxiety respecting our fate; he had been unable to procure any information as to what had become of us, and this absolute silence afforded him deep subject for anxiety on the probable issue of our adventurous expedition; but now here we are, reappearing unexpectedly, all in excellent health, and delighted with the unhoped-for result of a most successful journey.

After the first embraces, the dear Abbé hastened to give me news of my son, whom he had seen embark at Beyrout, in a satisfactory state of health. I, therefore, made my second entrance into the Holy City, with a light heart. As we had been dissatisfied with the accommodations of the Hôtel Meshulam, we now determined to look for quarters at the Franciscan convent, or Casa-Nuova, where we were received with that frank cordiality, which gives additional value to the unpretending hospitality of the worthy fathers. The Abbé was already installed in a cell; a number of small double-bedded rooms were immediately assigned to us, of which we took possession as gaily as possible. Our chambers were contiguous, and opened on the same uncovered gallery, admitting the pure air of Heaven; we are thus altogether, and lodged as comfortably as travellers can expect to be in Jerusalem. The only objection we can find to these rooms is, that having occupied them during the rainy season, they are dreadfully damp. But as it would be unfair to charge the good fathers with the inclemency of the weather, I can but repeat, from the bottom of my heart, the assurance of my sincere gratitude, as I

have already expressed it when I parted with them, perhaps never to meet again.

The ordinary fare of the convent is rather meagre; but how can it be otherwise, when we consider that this venerable establishment distributes gratis, for a month, the most unreserved hospitality to all comers. We were a little too sensual to content ourselves with the frugal repasts provided according to the regulations of the convent; and as we intended to retain our trusty Matteo in our service for the remainder of the journey, he was, at our request, put in possession of an under room, which he converted into a kitchen, and we continued, as before, to live upon fowls and mutton. It is true, that very often we went, by way of compensation, to dine at the excellent table of our kind consul, at whose house we passed nearly all our evenings, except when it rained so heavily that it become impossible to stir beyond the doors.

We tried, after dinner, to obtain heat, by means of an enormous brazier filled with burning coals; but it gave us such headaches, that, wishing to live a little longer, now that we have escaped from the devil's clutches, we firmly resolve never again to have recourse to this implement of furniture, admirably suited to all hypochondriacs who prefer voluntary death by asphyxia. Let the cold be as intense as it may, we shall in future only warm our fingers at the fire of our kind friend the consul.

At last, we are at liberty to undress in earnest, after being deprived of this seasonable luxury for many days. Once more we lie down upon real beds; alas!

that these should happen to be as damp as if the sheets had been dipped in a cistern. We have no escape from one of two risks: either we must now encounter hydropathic treatment to cure rheumatism in perspective, or we must give ourselves an acute fit of rheumatism, in the hope of curing it at some future day, by a course of hydropathy. In either case, we resign ourselves to Providence. The beds before us are substantial, and not imaginary; and this consideration prevailing over all others, we hasten to get over the first unpleasant sensations, and soon fall asleep, as people are sure to sleep after more than twenty days of campaigning and bivouac.

JERUSALEM, *from January 26th to February 5th.*

I shall here again dispense with the rather uninteresting diary of our residence in Jerusalem. A few words will suffice to give the reader a general idea of our ordinary avocations. After breakfast, when the weather permits, we run to the monuments we are most anxiously intent upon studying; these are the area of the ancient temple, and the tombs, or sepulchral caverns, that surround the city. The morning is employed in measuring, and sketching on the ground. If it rains so hard that there is no possibility of venturing beyond the walls, I remain at home in the Casa-Nuova, where I classify the collection of rocks we have picked up in the region of the Dead Sea; at other times, I fill in my drawings in Indian ink, or study the interesting work of Quaresmius. Nearly all our evenings are spent at M. Botta's, at whose house we invariably find the most friendly

and polite reception. Sometimes, also, we pass a few hours in the drawing-room of M. Pizzamano, a society presided over with accomplished grace by Madame Pizzamano.

On the evening of February 3rd, Matteo treated us to an Arab *Soirée*, with the obligato accompaniment of kettle-drums and tambourines ; some of the musicians, without any apparent object, striking out suddenly into a gurgling, snuffling chant, unlike anything that ever was heard in the shape of a song. The melody and the accompaniment were sadly at variance with each other. In compliment to us, as Frenchmen, on our entering the concert-room, the orchestra commenced clanging and tambourining a strange incongruous imitation of the *Marselloise*, and I confess that my vanity, as a European dilettante and performer, received a cruel shock. If it is by this sample, executed in such a manner, that French music is estimated in Jerusalem, we must pass for ignorant pretenders, without ear enough to distinguish one tune from another, and destitute of taste to perceive the difference between good and bad.

During two long hours we suffered this infliction, forming the centre of a group of male faces, young and old, smoking the tchibouk and drinking wine, water, or coffee, according as the invited guest happened to be a Christian or a Mussulman. As Matteo is a Christian, the majority is not on the side of the followers of Mahomet. Sweetmeats, or pastry mixed up with honey, are introduced between the acts of the concert. To give a greater animation to the performance, or rather, to stimulate the ardour of the

musicians, Mohammed, who is squatting on the floor by my side, exhorts me to bestow a largess. I therefore send, in the name of the whole party, fifty piastres to each of the musicians,—a reward infinitely beyond his merit. From this moment the clashing, jarring and screaming, redouble in vigour. I should have much preferred, had the performers acknowledged our bakshish in a different manner, and shown their thankfulness and good deserts by remaining silent.

We anxiously desire to release ourselves from the lengthened enjoyments of this male *Soirée*, but we have not yet been presented with the nosegay, without which it is impossible to stir. The mistress of the house, with all the female portion of the society congregated at Matteo's, though completely excluded from our sight, are busily employed in the preparation of this premeditated bouquet. When the long-expected object is brought in, it looks like a whitish mass, as large as a huge mole-hill, surmounted with flowers, small lighted candles, and little scraps of tinsel. It has an imposing look, I confess, and yet I ask myself what it is. As this strange compound is placed before me, without anything in the shape of a spoon or fork, I must give up all reserve and attack it with my fingers, It proves to be a mixture of flour, sugar, pounded almonds, and I don't know how many ingredients besides; but I suspect that, amongst other components, a goodly allowance of tallow-candle is not wanting. The article in question is called a *Kenafeh*. In Jerusalem there is no such thing as a festival without a Kenafeh; but at the same time, there is no Kenafeh unless it be a real festival.

I should much prefer not being compelled to eat a large portion of this incongruous mess; but the good people appear little disposed to take it away in a hurry; they are much too polite for that. There is, however, one honour which I most resolutely refuse; that of tasting the little round balls our neighbours are continually rolling between their fingers and then politely presenting to you. I conceal under a pretence of absolute want of appetite the horrible disgust caused by this proffered luxury, and allow my poor friend Edward to pay for us both, by swallowing all that is offered by the entire company. I confess, the grimaces I see him make whilst undergoing the operation, do not dispose me in any way to relax in my affected abstinence. After this ceremony we are suffered to retire from the party, and leave our gracious hosts to enjoy their merry-making after their own fancies. We break up the sitting and return to the Casa-Nuova, where at least we have no more Kenafeh to encounter.

On going out, Matteo presents to us in the court-yard, and in grand form, Madame Matteo, who is, let me speak the truth, a very pretty woman, with whom we exchange by turns a farewell salutation, whilst to the master of the house we leave a bakshish of three hundred piastres, not to be behind-hand in generosity with our faithful servant.

The next day, February the 4th, has been entirely employed in visiting the monument called the "Tomb of the Kings," Q'bour-el-Molouk, or Q'bour-el-Selathin. Up to the present time this is the object we have most admired of all we have seen, having discovered in

it three stone lids of sarcophagi, which would be invaluable in such a museum as that of the Louvre. Henceforward we are continually revolving in our minds the means by which we may obtain possession of, and carry off these precious remains of Judaic art. But, before anything else, we must thoroughly examine the monument itself, and ascertain if it is really entitled to the name it bears. We are not long in forming our convictions in this respect, and soon arrive at the moral certitude that, in entering this wonderful cave, we have stood in the sepulchre of David and of the kings of his dynasty.

But this is not yet the time or place to examine the question with the attention it deserves, and I propose to treat it *in extenso* in a special chapter a little further on; when, setting aside the manner and style of a traveller who transcribes the daily routine of his journey, I shall arrange under a separate head the results of my observations on all the particular monuments contained within the walls of Jerusalem, or which, from their close vicinity to the space so circumscribed, unquestionably belong to the history of the capital of the kings of Judah.

We were impatient to continue our survey of the Dead Sea, and to examine attentively the northern point of this extraordinary lake. With this object we had held conferences with the scheikhs, who usually undertake, for a bakshish of a hundred piastres per head for each traveller, to conduct pilgrims to Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, and to protect them against any attack during this excursion, which is generally

accomplished within three days. These people are, Hat-Allah, scheikh of the village of Siloam, and the two brothers Mahmoud and Mustafa, scheikhs of the village of Abou-Dis, situated to the right of the Fountain of the Apostles, or Bir-el-Haoud, on the heights commanding the valley that leads to Jericho, and about a thousand yards distant beyond Bethany. Hat-Allah is a little old man, still plump and active, having preserved much of the energy and alacrity of youth. The two scheikhs of Abou-Dis are, especially Mahmoud, fine manly fellows, always with a smile on their lips, and of a kindness and fidelity superior to any trial. These three personages engage to provide us with a sufficient escort, chosen from amongst the people under their sway. As we purpose examining the shore of the Asphaltic lake, as far as the spot where we first reached it, that is to say, as far as the Ayn-el-Rhoueir, we must necessarily take a little more than the usual time for our journey, and cannot treat with our scheikhs on the footing of ordinary travellers. Our agreement is soon settled; and by doubling the amount of piastres, we may, if we choose, double the number of days to be occupied on the march.

We mutually exchange rendezvous for the 5th of February, early in the morning, before the door of the Casa-Nuova. Matteo has received his orders; our provisions are ready, all our luggage packed, and we wait with restless impatience the hour of departure, anxious to complete the exploring expedition, of which we have already accomplished so important a portion.

February 5th.

This morning, at a very early hour, we were prepared to mount our horses; but as usual, we are doomed to experience the annoyances inseparable from a departure when you are obliged to depend upon Syrian moukris. It was past nine, when we succeeded in getting into motion, and only after endless bawling and screaming that we saw at last our little caravan ready to leave Jerusalem. We have taken the precaution to send off our luggage by the Bab-el-Khalil, which will avoid the trouble and difficulty of passing through the narrow and encumbered streets of the city. For ourselves, we have preferred avoiding the long détour which this route would subject us to, and have proceeded directly towards the Bab-Setty-Maryam, with the conviction that we should reach El-Aazarieh or Bethany, as soon as the loaded animals.

It was fifty-seven minutes past nine, when we passed the gate. Immediately opposite begins an inclined slope, about one hundred yards long, taking an easterly direction, and descending by two successive elbows to the dry bed of the Kedron; that is to say, to the bottom of the valley called Jehoshaphat, by the Christians and Jews, and Ouad-Faráoun by the Mussulmen. A stone bridge is thrown across the torrent; as soon as you have passed this, to the left, and on a level a few yards higher up, you reach the small flat eminence upon which is built the church of Setty-Maryam, which contains the tomb of the Virgin Mary;

a tomb held in high veneration by Mohammedans as well as Christians. The front of the church is not more than thirty yards distant from the road. By one minute past ten o'clock, we arrive opposite the portal.

Here, the road turns immediately to the right—or rather, to the south-south-east—following the left bank of the Kedron, planted with olive-trees of unquestionable antiquity, certainly earlier than the period of our Lord's mission. To the left of the road, and on a higher level, is the enclosed space more especially known under the name of the Garden of Olives. Some venerable trees are enclosed within this space; but those which are left outside, are just as much entitled to claim the honour of having witnessed the passion of our Saviour. The road we are following is not more than three hundred yards distant from the enclosure of the Harem—the present name of the flat eminence upon which formerly stood the temple of Solomon. The bed of the Kedron is hollowed out precisely in the middle of that distance, at about one hundred and fifty yards to the right of the road we are following, which slopes gradually along the flank of the Mount of Olives.

By five minutes past ten, we leave about one hundred and thirty yards to our right, and below our level, the tomb of Absalom, or the Qobr-Farâoun of the Mussulmen. Beyond that, the side of the mountain is covered with funereal stones, which give it the aspect of a giant's causeway. This is the burying-ground of the Jews. By nine minutes past ten, we are above, and two hundred and fifty yards distant in a direct line from the village

of Siloam. Here we turn east-south-east, winding round the southern flank of the Mount of Olives. The summit of this mount is about three hundred yards to our left; we are then in a valley well planted with trees. By a quarter past ten, we are in front of a small plain, two hundred yards in diameter, at the extremity of which another valley begins, descending to join that of the Kedron, or Ouad-en-Nar. Beyond this small plain, the road which has been cut in the rock, ever since ten minutes past ten, turns southward and inclines towards the bottom of the valley, where we arrive by twenty minutes past ten. The left flank of this valley which we are following, is stony and full of pebbles. By twenty-five minutes past ten, we pass close to an ancient tomb hewn in the solid rock, our direction being now due east. High hills form the right flank of the valley through which we are now passing, and where we find by twenty-seven minutes past ten, traces of an ancient paved road. By half-past ten, we reach the village of El-Aazarieh. To the right of the road are some few habitations and a small Mohammedan chapel; to the left, in the centre of the houses of the village, a square tower appears, exactly resembling in form, the tower of David. This is, without any doubt, a military construction, dating from the period of the kings of Judah.

El-Aazarieh, is unquestionably the Bethany so often mentioned by the Holy Evangelists. St. John (xi. 18) tells us that Bethany was distant fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem—rather less than two English miles: St. Mark (xi. 1) says that Bethany was situated at the

Mount of Olives. Epiphanius * observes that the ancient public road leading from Jerusalem to Jericho, passed by Bethphage, Bethany, and the Mount of Olives. The Gospel of St. Luke tells us most positively (xxiv. 50, 51), "And he (Christ) led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands and blessed them. And it came to pass while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." This passage seems to me quite conclusive against the tradition which places so far from Bethany the spot where the ascension of our Lord took place. Reland has already pointed out this palpable error, and has done so with sound judgment. St. Jerome, in his Onomasticon, says that Bethany is situated at the second mile-stone from Jerusalem, and on the side of the Mount of Olives, and this position is perfectly correct.

It was at Bethany, that the resurrection of Lazarus took place; and it seems very probable that the modern name of the village, El-Aazarieh, has originated from that miracle which was performed there under the eyes and with the knowledge of all the inhabitants. With regard to Bethphage, a sacerdotal residence which must have been situated close to Bethany, I have not been able to discover any satisfactory vestiges.

A little beyond El-Aazarieh, and at the point where the road, turning to the south-east, begins to incline towards the bottom of the valley, we descry to our right, and distant about a thousand yards, the summit upon which stands the village of Abou-Dis. Is it an ancient locality that has received this name? I

* Adv. Hæres., lib. i. p. 340.

find it difficult to determine. By forty-one minutes past ten, the road having turned eastward, passes at a distance of about one hundred yards from a well called Bir-el-Aïd. By forty-nine minutes past ten, we fall in again with a fine portion of the ancient road, which the modern track constantly follows, and descend by some steep windings, hewn in the side of a precipitous cliff, to the place where the Ouad-el-Haoud commences. Here we find a cistern called by the Mohammedan Arabs, Bir-el-Haoud (the well of the trough) and by the Christians *Fontana degli Apostoli*, the fountain of the Apostles. It is fifty-four minutes past ten, when we reach the fountain, to the right of which appear the walls of a ruined khan. We alight from our horses and halt for breakfast near the cistern.

By forty-five minutes past eleven, we mount again, and resume our march along the bottom of the valley, which takes at first a north-westerly direction and maintains this direction for a distance of more than a thousand yards. We move forward within fifteen yards of the dry bed of a torrent on our right, separated by about five and twenty yards from the foot of the barren, rocky hills to the left. On the opposite side is a tolerably high eminence called Er-Ras.

By one minute past twelve, we descry to our right a cultivated valley, about five and twenty yards wide, inclining southward; to the left another small valley called Kâaziz. Here again we encounter vestiges of the ancient road, the track of which we follow, turning towards the east. Beyond the cultivated valley, I have

just pointed out, the side of the heights on the right becomes more stony, and the Ouad-el-Haoud keeps continually narrowing. By five minutes past twelve, we cross the bed of the torrent, and follow its left bank, marching in a north-easterly direction ; here the ouad alters its name, and is called Ouad-es-Sekkeh, and traces of the ancient road appear again. At eleven minutes past twelve we fall in with another branch of the old highway. By a quarter past twelve, we are opposite a valley, opening to the right, and called Ouad-Monfakh. As soon as we have crossed the head of this ouad, that in which we are marching widens from one hundred and fifty to three hundred yards ; on our right an elevated ledge then appears, upon which are ruins called Kharbet-el-Merassas. Opposite to these is a hollow in the hills, forming a small plain, and named Chôeb-ez-Zenbeh.

I cannot form any opinion as to the ancient city, the ruins of which are still existing to this day under the name of Kharbet-el-Merassas. It is true, we find in Joshua (xv. 59) a city called Mâarath, mentioned amongst those of the hilly country of Judæa ; but I can scarcely venture to look for this Mâarath in the modern Merassas. The only point that might be argued in favour of the identification, is that, in the Septuagint version, Bethlehem is named in the following verse, and, consequently, it may be supposed that Mâarath and Bethlehem could not be at any great distance from each other. The Hebraic text, as it has been preserved by the Jews, suppresses in this passage the name of Bethlehem ; but St. Jerome, who had

remarked this suppression, accounts for it by stating that the Jews permitted it with the sole object of preventing any evidence appearing in their own sacred records that Christ issued from the tribe of Judah. Reland has surmised that the biblical Mâarath might possibly have given its name to Mount Mardes, a considerable elevation, situated in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, and upon which St. Euthemius found a well and some remnants of habitations.* It would probably be more reasonable to look for this Mount Mardes in the hill which I have pointed out in the vicinity of the convent of Mar-Saba, and on the top of which stands the Qalaát-Mardah. This identification I omitted when first speaking of the locality, but I now formally propose it as based on sound reasoning.

At twenty-one minutes past twelve, we are still on the left bank of the torrent, and marching at the bottom of the valley—the width of which is now one hundred and twenty yards; but it narrows again immediately, and the traces of the ancient road are once more before us. A little farther on, by twenty-six minutes past twelve, we have to our left a small plain, fifty yards wide, which, at a distance of three hundred and fifty yards more, loses itself in the curtain of hills forming the left flank of the ouad. Here where we suppose we have reached the termination of the valley, we find a well, the name of which, if it has one, I was unable to ascertain. This well is sunk at the foot of the hill on the right; but the ouad makes an elbow to the left, and after having wound round the

* Acta Sanctorum, vol. ii. p. 306.

base of the cliff that seemed to close it in, turns north-east again and widens to some fifty yards.

At thirty-five minutes past twelve, we pass before a valley one hundred yards wide, extending to our left, towards the north-west; whilst to our right the Ouad-el-Merassas runs off in a south-westerly direction. We reach the head of this ouad by forty minutes past twelve. Here the land is under cultivation, and the corn already growing and beginning to look green. Beyond the Ouad-el-Merassas, the glen through which we proceed runs due east, and presents once more, very perceptible traces of the ancient paved road.

At forty-six minutes past twelve, we enter a small plain about one hundred and fifty yards wide, well cultivated, and called Maqâab-es-Semin; we cross it in the direction of its longer axis, proceeding east-north-east. This plain is commanded on the right by a hillock of slight elevation, and on the left by higher hills with broken outlines. By fifty-six minutes past twelve the glen narrows again, and we continue to pursue an easterly course, until two minutes past one. We then make a sharp turn to the right, to enter the Ouad-Estedeh, which runs eastward for about a thousand yards. By ten minutes past one, the ouad turns north-north-east, and leads us, in five minutes more, to the entrance of a valley thirty yards wide and planted with olive trees, stretching to the southward on our right. Beyond the valley, we ascend by the traces of the ancient road, to an elevated flat, on the level of which we arrive by

eighteen minutes past one: here we find a ruin of no importance, called Thour-ed-Dabar. By twenty-one minutes past one, we descend by a road hewn in the rock, and marching directly east, arrive at thirty-five minutes past one, opposite a small ruined chapel called Qobr-el-Khoukh.

A series of flat ledges, insensibly ascending, and with traces of the ancient paved road again appearing upon them, leads us, by thirty-seven minutes past one, to a well called Bir-el-Khan; close to which are ruins of trifling extent, and a fragment of a column. To the left of the road is a low hill, concealing a valley called Ouad-abou-Kebdah; and with this hill is almost immediately connected an extensive mound, upon which is situated an imposing ruin named Khan-el-Hatrour, or El-Khan-el-Ahmar.

By thirty-eight minutes past one, we arrive, beyond the Khan-el-Ahmar, at a ridge from which we trace the commencement of the descent towards the plain of the Jordan. I have found the Khan-el-Ahmar designated under the name of the Red Tower, in the diary of a pilgrim of the fourteenth century, inserted in a provincial magazine of good repute, called "La Revue d'Austrasie," published for several consecutive years in Metz.*

* Narrative of a journey from Metz to Jerusalem, undertaken in 1395, by four knights. L'Austrasie, review of the north-eastern provinces of France, 3rd vol. 1833. The style of this narrative has unfortunately been modernised by the editor, who does not seem to have copied exactly the distances laid down in the original. The passage concerning the Red Tower is as follows: "We marched the first day a distance of eleven leagues,(!) to sleep in a town (!) where there is a good inn for strangers to lodge; it is in the vicinity of a mountain, upon which stands a castle, named the Red Tower." On Sunday, (20th October) after midnight, "we left the aforesaid inn, and proceeded about four leagues, to a small tower, called the Tower of Jericho." Another passage

At that date this khan still afforded shelter to travellers; at the present day, it is completely deserted and ruined, and no one is ever tempted to halt there.

On leaving the ridge, which we reached by thirty-eight minutes past one, a winding descent begins between hills, the general direction of the road being at first north-east; by fifty-four minutes past one it turns eastward; at two o'clock, the valley we are in is called Ouad-er-Rouman—it presents some easily distinguished ruins and traces of the old paved road. At three minutes past two, we meet with beds of lava, and by six minutes past two once more encounter the ancient road. By eleven minutes past two we reach other ruins, bearing the name of Kharbet-Samrah. The first that appears is a capital of rude workmanship, and large proportions, which the Bedouins call Dabbous-el-Aábed (the slave's club). From eleven to twenty minutes past two, the ruins are before us, as also the ancient road; the latter is now bordered by a wall which we follow from eleven to twenty-three minutes past two. By twenty minutes past two, the direction of our route is south-east, and in three minutes more we issue through the Akbat-el-Kerath, into the Ouad-Teisoun, which runs due east, and where we again fall in with the ancient road and the accompanying wall. By half-past two, and a little later, another wall hems in the road on the opposite side. Here we find a short

which occurs a little further down, seems to me inadmissible; here it is. "From Bethany we went to sleep at the village of the Red Tower, from which we departed early in the morning of Monday, to return to Jerusalem." It seems improbable that a party should have gone from Bethany to the Red Tower with the purpose of returning to Jerusalem; or rather, we ought to say it is utterly impossible.

but steep ascent, called Akbat-es-Sakkar, beyond which the road again inclines downwards between elevations, while flanking a ravine of tolerable depth, along the border of which we meet again, from distance to distance, the old road and the remains of the walls.

At fifty-six minutes past two, the Scheikh Mustafa, who proves himself most obliging in pointing out and directing my attention to the ruins (objects which he soon discovers to be most interesting to me, though he cannot exactly understand why), invites me to turn away from the caravan which is then marching due east, and to climb the abrupt hill forming the left flank of the road, to the right and left of which we descry, at this moment, two ruined aqueducts of considerable extent. With much difficulty, we push our horses up the precipitous ascent; but when we have scrambled to the top, I am far from regretting my labour. Immediately before me an enormous chasm opens, nearly perpendicular, and resembling some of the most rugged defiles in the Pyrenees. Along the bottom of this precipice, named the Ouad-el-Kelt, a torrent rushes, the roaring of which I hear from where I stand: this is called the Nahr-el-Kelt. Over this torrent are still three fine piers of an ancient aqueduct, in a good state of preservation: and a little to the right, on the opposite bank to that on the top of which we are perched, we descry at the bottom of the ouad a ruin which is scarcely distinguishable from such an elevation. The Arabs call it the Deïr-et-Times.

As soon as I have taken my notes, we descend again to the road followed by our caravan, which we overtake

in a few minutes at the spot where a square ruin stands, measuring about five-and-twenty yards on each side, and called Beit-Djabor. We continue to march eastward, and on the flank of the Ouad-el-Kelt, for at this moment there is not more than seventy yards of horizontal distance, between the brink of the torrent and the road. About one hundred yards to the right we notice the summit of a small hill succeeded by two others. At twenty minutes past three, begins the Akbat-er-Riha,—or descent, properly speaking, to Jericho. This is a continued series of steep windings, bearing generally to the eastward, and drawing nearer and nearer to the Ouad-el-Kelt. By twenty-nine minutes past three, we are only fifteen yards distant from this ouad, the depth of which has decreased to about a hundred yards. To the right of the road appears a fine portion of an aqueduct, and near it another square ruin in the Roman reticulated style of the lower Empire, and also called Beit-Djabor, or Hak-eddamm. To this building, tradition, without any probable evidence, attaches the locality of the parable of the traveller waylaid on the road to Jericho. (St. Luke x. 30.)

By thirty-two minutes past three, we have reached the foot of the mountain, and are on the verge of the plain: the Nahr-el-Kelt, whose banks are no longer steep, flows at a distance of five-and-twenty yards from the left of the road, whilst to our right masses of rubbish appear, covering a vast extent of ground. These ruins are called by the Bedouins, Kharbet-Qaqoun. By thirty-six minutes past three, we are on level ground, and pass the left of an eminence, most likely artificial, named

Tell-el-Alay. Here our road turns suddenly to the north, so as to cross the bed of the Nahr-el-Kelt, beyond which it resumes an easterly direction. On the left bank, which we have just reached, the ruins re-appear in vast quantities, and I stumble on a capital of unusual design, but unfortunately too much worn by time and weather to afford any useful information. We then march close by the foot of a low hillock covered with ruins, and not more than two hundred yards in diameter. Eight hundred yards distant towards our left are high mountains, forming the continuation of the wall that confines to the westward the valley of the Jordan. Directly to our left, is the summit called Djebel-Korontol—the mountain of the forty days fast—which tradition supposes to have been the place where our Saviour retired during the forty days of Lent. At the foot of this mountain, and surrounded by some fine clumps of trees, is the fountain of Elisha, the Ayn-es-Southan ; in the vicinity of which are extensive ruins, called by the Arabs, Tahouahin-es-Sakkar (the sugar-mills).

By fifty-eight minutes past three, we pass within sight of, and about twenty yards from, an aqueduct with pointed arches, thrown across the Nahr-el-Kelt ; and arrive, through heaps of rubbish, at a series of small green hillocks covered with bushes. The bed of the Nahr-el-Kelt is bordered by some fine trees, amongst which we recognise the *Neubq* (Lotus), which we so often met on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. We are now in a plain full of ravines, but covered with a luxuriant verdure and adorned by myriads of

beautiful little flowers. By seven minutes past four we halt on a mound destitute of trees, and in close proximity to the river which murmurs on our right. To the left are some wretched huts constructed of mud and branches; and before us rises an extensive square tower, in a very dilapidated condition, used as a kind of barrack by a dozen soldiers of Turkish irregular cavalry. These huts constitute Er-Riha—Jericho! The tower is called the Bordj-er-Riha—the citadel of Jericho! There is truly something like mockery in the close connection of such things with such names. At all events, here we are in Jericho: we hasten to pitch our tents, and prepare to pass an agreeable evening under the softest sky that can be found in the world.

The Abbé, who has gathered a rich botanical harvest along the road, hastens to arrange his plants. For myself, I copy in my map in Indian ink and complete my notes; whilst our friends are searching, some for insects, others for game; and in these various avocations we soon get over the interval until dinner-time. As is commonly the case, we are surrounded by the whole population of Er-Riha crowding into our encampment, but their manners are inoffensive, and they appear to desire nothing beyond the pleasure of admiring us at their ease.

After our meal, we hear singing amongst our Arabs; and as we have retained a favourable remembrance of the evening at Sebbeh, we hurry from our tents to participate once more in national Bedouin recreations. On this occasion our expectations are more than realised, and we witness a real burlesque drama,

executed by some young lads, dressed in strange-looking rags, with false hair and false beards made of tow. I must decline treating my readers to the minute details of the performance, or a full programme of the piece exhibited before us, and shall merely observe that one of the two actors is killed by the other, and remains stretched upon his back, refusing to return to life at the entreaties of his murderer, who thereupon makes a show of the most violent despair. He plucks out the hair of his false beard, scatters sand and ashes upon his head, strikes his face and chest with innocuous blows, and then cries, groans, and howls in rotation. He shakes the dead man, pulling the body about in every direction, and bitterly deploring his poverty that leaves him unable to provide for the funeral of the deceased. On this a begging-box goes round, and the rogue pockets a harvest of piastres, still incessantly repeating his lamentations and contortions of despair. What most particularly struck and surprised me was, that the spectators appeared not in the least scandalised by this fellow's jesting with Mussulman devotions, and that they did not break his bones at once, in payment of the unseemly sacrilege. The Bedouins, then it appears, are beginning to turn prayers into ridicule — a certain symptom of advanced civilisation. I question whether buffoons would have dared to venture on this license before the Egyptian sovereignty. When our knave has gathered in all the retribution-money he can expect to filch, he snatches a live firebrand from the bivouac fire in front of which the farce is going on; he brings it as close as possible to the back of the deceased, who

revives immediately at this stirring contact. Then commences between the two a furious dance, with accompaniments of kicks and blows, and the piece is over. Altogether I found it amusing enough, but the assisting Arabs showed by their shouts of joy and continual bursts of laughter, the absorbing interest with which they witnessed this humourous exhibition performed in the open air. Such is a fair specimen of the Bedouin drama, and we are well satisfied with having gratified our curiosity by the trifling sacrifice of a few piastres.

All having subsided into silence, we return to our tents and lose no time in composing ourselves to rest. To-morrow morning we intend to visit the Jordan, and from thence once more proceed with alacrity to the shores of the Dead Sea.

Let us now turn our attention to the ruined localities we have observed on our journey by the ancient road from Jerusalem to Jericho. The first we encountered, as the reader will remember, is situated at the spot called Thour-ed-Dabar (the Mountain of Dabar). Does not this designation recal a scriptural name? Assuredly it does, as we find it in the following passage: 5. "And their border (the tribe of Judah) in the north quarter, was from the bay (tongue) of the sea at the uttermost part of Jordan. 6. And the border went up to Beth-hogla, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben. 7. And the border went up toward Debir, from the valley of Achor."*—I have no doubt

* Joshua xv. 5—7.

that the Debir mentioned in this passage is the original of the denomination attached to the ruins that are to be seen at the Thour-ed-Dabar, and at the Ouad-ed-Dabar, which we shall find a little further on. Strabo (book xvi.) speaks of two fortresses which were situated in the defiles leading to Jericho, as having been conquered by Pompey the Great after the reduction of Jerusalem. He names these two forts Threx and Taurus, and this last may very easily be identified with Thour-ed-Dabar.

This town of Debir has been called by several distinct names in the biblical times; for instance, we read in Joshua (xv. 49), "Kirjath-sannah, which is Debir;" and in the same chapter (ver. 15): "And the name of Debir before was Kirjath-sepher." The first of these two names means a town where people are taught, where lessons are repeated to them; the second means the town of the book; consequently both names may very correctly be translated, the town of the learned men (scholars); and, indeed, such is the meaning given by the Septuagint, wherein Kirjath-sannah is translated by Πόλις γραμμάτων.

A little beyond, we reached extensive ruins bearing the name of Kharbet-Samrah. We read in Joshua (xviii. 21, 22), "Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin, according to their families, were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and the valley of Keziz. And Beth-arabah, and Zemaraïm, and Beth-el." In this passage, two names strike me as being very important; in the first place, Amik-Keziz—the valley of Keziz. Now, we have found, at a distance of two thousand yards, eastward of

the Bir-el-Haoud, or fountain of the Apostles, the head of a valley still called Kâaziz; which has handed down to us, unaltered, the name of the city of Benjamin, called in Joshua, Amik-Keziz (the valley of Keziz). The other name is Zemaraim, which I think I can safely identify with the Samrah, the ruins of which we have passed through, and which most certainly belonged to the tribe of Benjamin.

The extensive ruins known at this day under the name of Kharbet-Qaqoun (خربة قاقون), do not recal, as far as I am aware of, any other ancient denomination than that of the fortress called Δαγών. I can hardly believe that they represent a portion of the original Jericho; and I shall presently explain my reasons for this objection.

We have now to consider the Nahr-el-Kelt, which we must at once identify with the Cherith that we find mentioned in the Bible, in the following passage: "And the Word of the Lord came unto him (to the Prophet Elijah), saying: Get thee hence, and turn thee eastward and hide thyself by the brook Cherith (נחל כרית), that is before Jordan." * Between Cherith and Kelt or Kelit, the difference is so trifling in regard to pronunciation, that it is perfectly evident, these two names are identical; and the Nahr-el-Kelt becomes the Cherith of the Book of Kings.

The last place remaining for comment is Jericho, and our object will be to fix the probable situation of this important city. The Hebraic name is written יריחו and יריחה (Jerihou and Jerihah). Under this last form it

* 1 Kings, xvii. 2, 3.

bears the most striking analogy to the modern name Er-Riha. The catastrophe that fell upon Jericho is related with all its details in the sixth chapter of the Book of Joshua. The Jews were merciless conquerors, for (verse 21) "They utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword." A prostitute with her family were the only creatures spared, because she had given refuge in her house to two Hebrew spies, who had been secretly sent into the town to reconnoitre it before it was attacked.* Joshua then uttered an imprecation,† saying: "Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall be set up the gates of it." This malediction did not stop those who were intent upon rebuilding Jericho, for we read again,‡ "In his days, (the days of King Ahab) did Hiel the Beth-elite build Jericho; he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua, the son of Nun."

There can be no doubt, therefore, that Jericho was rebuilt; and accordingly we find it mentioned in many passages, both of the sacred and profane writings, during the periods posterior to the disaster that befel this city at the time when the Israelites first arrived on the right bank of the Jordan. Besides, considering that in Joshua's

* Josephus relates the sack of Jericho with the same details (Ant. Jud. V. i. 5—10).

† Joshua, vi. 26.

‡ 1 Kings, xvi. 34.

own book (xviii. 21) Jericho is laid down and classed amongst the cities allotted to the share of the tribe of Benjamin, it clearly results from this fact that the place was not rased and laid even with the ground, as might be supposed from Chapter VI. I shall content myself with quoting a single scriptural passage to prove that Jericho had been already rebuilt at a very remote period: this is the passage where mention is made of the miracle by which the Prophet Elisha purified the waters of the spring of Jericho. We read:* "And the men of the city said to Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth, but the water is naught and the ground barren. And he said, Bring me a new cruise and put salt therein; and they brought it to him. And he went forth unto the spring of the waters and cast the salt in there, and said, thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land. So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the saying of Elisha, which he spake." But, since a residence in this town was agreeable, the inference seems to be that it had been rebuilt with care. This passage appears also to establish, that the city of Jericho was in reality situated towards the fountain of Elisha, rather than towards the spot where are actually existing the Bordj-er-Riha, and the modern village supposed to occupy the site of Jericho; and, indeed, in the direction of this fountain, there are some very apparent ruins bearing the name of Tahouahin-es-Sakkar (the sugar-mills), but I did not examine them; and conse-

* 2 Kings, ii. 19, 22.

quently, I shall not venture to discuss the probable period to which they may be referred.

Josephus often speaks of Jericho, which he places at a distance of sixty stadia from the Jordan.* He mentions, that between Jerusalem and Jericho there is a vast wilderness; that Jericho, after having been the seat of one of the five synods, or juridical conventions, established by Gabinius,† became one of the eleven toparchies, or governments of Judæa;‡ and that this town was ornamented with an hippodrome.§ Again, he says that Jericho is situated in a plain, commanded by a naked and barren mountain, adjoining, to the northward, the Scythopolitan fields (that is to say, the flat country of Beysan), and, to the southward, by the land of Sodom and the Asphaltic Lake.‖ And again, that the plain of Jericho is so admirably fertile, and watered by a spring so abundant, that it may with perfect propriety be called a divine country, Θεῖον χωρίον.¶ And lastly, that Jericho is distant one hundred and fifty stadia from Jerusalem; and that the entire space lying between these two cities is desert and rocky, whilst the land dividing Jericho from the Jordan, and from the Asphaltic Lake, is nearly flat, but nevertheless sterile.**

Strabo (book xvi,) mentions two fortresses that were situated in the defiles leading to the entrance of Jericho; these fortresses were named Threx and Taurus, and were destroyed by Pompey the Great. Josephus speaks also of fortresses that would seem to have been established

* Ant. Jud. IV. iii. 3.

† Bel. Jud. I. vii. 5; Ant. Jud. XIV. 5, 4.

‡ Bel. Jud. III. iii. 5.

§ *Ibid.* I. xxiii. 6.

‖ *Ibid.* IV. viii. 2.

¶ *Ibid.* I. vi. 6; V. iii. 5.

** *Ibid.* IV. iii. 3.

about the town; for instance, he mentions a citadel called Δαγών, situated above Jericho.* The Book of Maccabees (1, xvi. 15) speaks of a small post, being a dependency of Jericho, that was called Δὼκ or Δῶκος (in the English version, Docus). Now, there exists northward of Jericho and of the Ayn-es-Soulthan, another spring with ruins quite adjacent to it, which were visited by Dr. Robinson.

As this spring is called the Ayn-Douk, Dr. Robinson inferred from that circumstance, that the ruins adjoining it are those of the fortress where Simon Maccabeus was treacherously assassinated by his son-in-law Ptolemeus.† But, as according to Josephus, the fortress in question is the same as that of Dagon, which, I rather think, is to be identified with the Kharbet-Qaqoun, at some distance from the Ayn-Douk, it is possible that there may be here a confusion of places.

Lastly, Josephus mentions again‡ a fortress, constructed by Herod above Jericho, which fortress, called Κύπρος, was taken and levelled with the ground during a sedition under the reign of Agrippa. Another passage of the same historian§ speaks of this citadel of Cyprus: Ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ μεταξὺ Κύπρου τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλείων; (At Jericho, between the fortress of Cyprus and the first royal buildings.) The inference from this passage, is that the citadel of Cyprus was outside the city.

Let us return to the site of the city of Jericho. We

* Ant. Jud. XIII. viii. 1; Bel. Jud. I. ii. 3.
† 1 Macc. xvi. 15, 16; Bel. Jud. I. ii.
Ant. Jud. XVI. v. 2; Bel. Jud. II. xviii. 6. § Bel. Jud. I. xxi. 4.

read in Josephus * that close to Jericho is a very abundant spring, employed for the irrigation of the country; that this fountain issues from the ground adjoining the ancient town (*παρὰ τὴν παλαὶαν ἀναβλύζουσα πόλιν*), which was the first conquered by Joshua, on his entering the land of Canâan. According to Josephus, this fountain is the well of Elisha; which also proves that I was right in surmising that the site of the primitive Jericho was to be looked for towards the Tahouahin-Es-Sakkar, that is to say, in the immediate vicinity of the fountain of Elisha. Besides, it was very probable, even if there had been no text to back the hypothesis, that the town subdued by Joshua, must have existed in the vicinity of so plentiful a spring, rather than at the spot where at this day are found the miserable village and the Bordj-er-Riha; since the only water fit to drink procurable there, is that of the Nahr-el-Kelt, a river invariably dry during the hot weather.

February 6th.

This morning, as soon as I was up, I procured guides to the Bordj-er-Riha, and when at the summit, I established myself with my compass, to take the bearings of all the important places within view. The commandant of the garrison, for the slight compliment of a dozen piastres, was most kind and accommodating; he obligingly furnished me with the names of the different localities I pointed out, and showed me several others worthy of observation, which I had not remarked at the first glance, or with the proximity of which I was unacquainted. I subjoin

* Bel. Jud. IV. viii. 3.

an accurate table of the bearings I was able to lay down correctly :—

Qalaát-er-Rabad	N. 35° E.
Summit of the Djebel-es-Salth	N. 70° E.
Kharbet-Hesban (Heshbon)	E. 7° S.
Head of the Ouad-el-Mehakkar	E. 20° S.
Arkoub-Abou'l-Hasan	E. 57° S.
Summit of the Djebel-Atarous (Mount Nebo)	E. 67° S.
Northern point of the Dead Sea	E. 48° S.
Summit of the Djebel-el-Hatrour-fy-el-Beqâa	S. 34° 0
„ „ Djebel-naby-Mousa	S. 40° 0
„ „ Djebel-Fechkhah	S. 15° 0
Ras-el-Akabeh	0 0 0
El-Korontol (the Mountain of the Forty Days Fast)	N. 34° 0
Tahouahin-es-Sakkar, Ayn-es-Sakkar, Fountain of Elisha (four thousand yards distant from the Bordj)	N. 37° 0
Qereyn-Sartabah* (the little horn of Sartabah, at least twelve miles distant)	N. 0 0
Kharbet-Nimrin (Nimrim†)	E. 20° N.
Summit of the Djbel-Adjloun	N. 30° E.
Tell-Arraneh	E. 15° S.

The Nahr-el-Kelt flows at a distance of not more than twenty-five yards south of the tower.

Nothing can be in worse order or more decayed than the Bordj-er-Riha. Men and horses live there promiscuously mingled, and fare badly enough ; but vermin, above all other animals, flourish triumphantly. The tower has a first-floor without a roof, and from this first floor a second stair-case, as ruinous as the first, that leads

* I am much inclined to believe that the Sartabah which I discerned to the north of Jericho, from the top of the tower of er-Riha, is precisely one of the localities situated on the banks of the Jordan, in which were cast, by order of Solomon, the ornaments of the Temple. The reader will remember what is written in Joshua (iii. 16). "The waters which came down from above, stopped in the direction of Zaretan." This town is certainly identical with that mentioned in Kings (I. vii. 46). "In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them ; in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan." We find also in 1 Kings iv. 12, a Zartanah, which is most likely the same place.

† Nimrim is the Nimrah (נמרה), of the tribe of Gad (Numbers xxxii. 3); the Νεβρὰ of Eusebius ; and probably the Beth-nimrah of the book of Numbers (xxxii. 36), the Βηθνεμρὰ which Eusebius places in the vicinity of Livias.

up to it, conducts you still higher to a kind of platform extending round the four faces of the tower, whilst the exterior walls serve as a parapet. The entire building is begrimed with smoke, dislocated, and crumbling. Some fine morning, the fortress will tumble down upon the heads of the garrison, and crush them at one blow, to the infinite satisfaction of the Arabs, who, although they have to deal with only a few irregular horsemen who meddle with nobody, like them never the better for that.

Politeness compelled us to accept the coffee offered by our military friends in charge of this formidable post, which has cost us another dozen or two of piastres. That ceremony over, we hastened back to our encampment, where the tents were already struck by our previous orders, anticipating that we had a long and difficult day's march before us.

By twenty-four minutes past eight, we were in the saddle, directing our course towards the Jordan, though we chose to make a détour to visit the ruins of the monastery of St. John. We first cross the Nahr-el-Kelt, beyond which we march south-west, through cultivated grounds, such as they are, and very poor specimens of agriculture. From half-past eight, we wind along a ravine, distant some thirty yards to our left, and intersecting a country planted with small trees: by forty minutes past eight, we came up to an aqueduct that intersects this ravine at right angles, and is called Djesr-el-Maieh (the water-bridge). We then march east-south-east, keeping in this direction as far as the ruin we are proceeding to visit. A little beyond

the aqueduct, we cross another ravine, uniting itself with the bank of the one we are following.

By forty-six minutes past eight, we reach a square ruin on our right, surrounded by heaps of rubbish at regular intervals. The entire mass is called Kharbet-el-Moharfer. Robinson, who examined these ruins, surmises that they are the remains of the city called Gilgala, mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerome, as being situated two miles distant from Jericho, and five miles from the Jordan.* By ten minutes past nine, we are in the midst of a sinking, clayey soil, which reminds us of the base of the salt mountain, before arriving at the Sabkhah. We then cross a wide, shallow defile, and after having traversed a plain intersected by muddy ravines, planted with clumps of dwarf-trees, we arrive by twenty-five minutes past nine, at the ruin we are in search of, and which the Arabs call Deïr or Qasr-Hadjlah. This is the monastery of St. John, described as follows, in the narrative of the four knights of Metz, whose pilgrimage I have already quoted from in reference to the Khan-el-Ahmar :—"After having bathed in the waters of the Jordan, and having performed our devotions, we proceeded to a fine hotel, looking like a fortified post, where there is a very handsome and holy chapel, in which the service is performed by Greek monks. This spot was formerly the retreat of St. John the Baptist when he was in the desert; and, in truth, the surrounding country amply indicates its title to this name. The monks occupying the place, showed us a hand which they told us had

* Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 272.

belonged to the aforesaid John the Baptist; but it must be remembered that these monks are not good Catholics, but schismatical Greeks." I regret exceedingly having in my possession only this very poor translation of the original text. In 1522, Salignac found the monastery still inhabited by monks of the order of St. Basilius; but Quaresmius had already mentioned it as a ruin. It is in fact a most interesting relic, although a comparatively modern one, and some curious drawings might be taken by visitors disposed to copy the religious pictures, still in tolerable preservation, which are to be found on the walls of all the rooms, and of the chapel. Many singular Greek legends are attached to these pictures.

It is rather difficult, and even dangerous to walk amongst these ruins, which are encumbered to the top of the walls by blocks of hewn stone, remains of the arched vaulting of the upper stories, which sometimes give way as you step upon them, and endanger your legs. Our friend Papigny experiences this, as he ventures upon an arch which he believes to be sound; his right leg immediately slips through, and gets torn and galled rather more severely than he likes: however we think him fortunate in escaping with such slight damage.

Before reaching the Qasr-Hadjlah, we disturbed a panther, to which two or three of our Arabs gave chase immediately, but, as usual, without success, and at the risk of both men and horses sinking in the mud, never to be extricated. It seems that these gentle animals have a predilection for this neighbourhood; where they

are sure to find ample prey, owing to the presence of the wild boars, which are very numerous in these swampy ravines. But what do the boars themselves find to feed upon? I confess I am at a loss to guess; nevertheless they do contrive to live here, and would get on quietly and sociably enough were it not for the disobliging vicinity of the panthers. We leave the Qasr-Hadjlah by forty-two minutes past nine, proceeding first in a north-easterly direction. Fifteen yards off, on our left, we leave the wide ravine which we have crossed before, arriving at the convent of St. John. Very soon afterwards, the road makes an elbow and turns east-south-east. By fifty minutes past nine, we cross the same ravine again; and, then marching north-east, arrive by three minutes past ten, at a fine spring surrounded by brambles and dwarf-trees. This is called the Ayn-Hadjlah. Here, beyond all question, existed formerly the scriptural city named in holy writ Beth-hadjlah (but erroneously rendered Beth-hoglah by the translators of the Bible).

Beth-hadjlah (בית חגלה), was a city of the tribe of Benjamin.* The cities of the tribe of Benjamin, according to their families, were:—Jericho, Beth-hadjlah (חגלה בית) and the valley of Keziz. In the Arabic language the modern name of this fountain is written حجلة; it is therefore perfectly evident that the Hebraic name has not been in the least altered. Most certainly the monastery, ruins of which we have just been visiting, at the distance of two thousand yards from the fountain, has taken its name from its vicinity to the

* Joshua xviii. 21.

fountain. As to the existence of a biblical city in the neighbourhood of the Ayn-Hadjlah, it is clearly demonstrated by the presence of large cubes of primitive mosaic which I picked up at the place, and which the learned Dr. Robinson did not observe; for he declares that immediately about the fountain there remain no signs of an ancient locality, although it was evidently demonstrable for him that this is the site of the Beth-hoglah mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. This biblical town is on the limit between the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin; since we read in Joshua xv. 5, 6, ". . . and this border in the north quarter was from the bay (tongue) of the sea at the uttermost part of Jordan. And the border went up to Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan, son of Reuben."

The southern limit of the tribe of Benjamin is thus described in Joshua (xviii. 19) "And the border passed along to the side of Beth-hoglah northward; and the outgoings of the border were at the north bay (tongue) of the salt sea, at the south end of Jordan: this was the south coast." Lastly, St. Jerome, at the word *Area-Atad*, quotes a city of Bethagla, which was situated at a distance of two miles from Jericho, and three miles from the Jordan. This is most certainly the biblical city which was built in the immediate vicinity of the Ayn-Hadjlah.

After having passed to the left of the Ayn, we march nearly in a straight line towards the Jordan; that is to say, that after having at first proceeded east-north-east,

we turn eastward by eleven minutes past ten, and keep in this direction until we reach the bank of the river. Just then, we descry to our left, three or four thousand yards off, a ruin situated on a height commanding the right bank of the Jordan. This ruin is known to the Arabs under the name of Qasr-el-Yahoud. I cannot say anything of it, as I passed by without stopping; Dr. Robinson, who did not visit it either, surmises that it represents the monastery of St. John the Baptist, which was situated on the banks of the Jordan, and is mentioned by Procopius, as having existed before the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

From the spot where we turned in a due easterly direction to reach the bank of the river, the plain descends towards it by two successive ledges, a few yards above each other. By seventeen minutes past ten, we cross an ancient acqueduct, not higher than the level of the ground, and reach the banks of the Jordan, nearly half an hour later. Nothing can be more pleasing than this river-side, planted with magnificent trees, amongst which we recognise the poplar, with blossoms of a fine purple colour bursting from a kind of husk or cup. The tall trees are close to the edge of the water, whilst the margin forms a lovely meadow, covered with flowers and planted with willows. The banks are perpendicular, and rise two or three yards above the water. The river is very full, and the stream, as it rolls along, yellow and dirty.

As we had provided ourselves in Jerusalem with tin bottles, prepared for carrying off some of the water of the sacred river, we seek for a contrivance to fill them,

and this proves to be no easy undertaking. Fortunately the trunk of a tree, having its root planted in the side of the shore, bends considerably over the stream, and by placing ourselves astride upon this trunk, holding on with one arm and stretching out the other, we contrive to fill our bottles, and procure as much of the water as we wish to preserve. It would be a serious matter to lose our balance, for the river is just now very deep and rapid, and the involuntary plunge would surely carry the best swimmer a good way down the current, from which he might be unable to extricate himself by catching at some of the branches overhanging the banks. Several beautiful small islets, covered with trees and verdure, spring up in the centre of the river. In a word, it would be difficult to select a more picturesque scene or a more luxuriant vegetation.

Whilst breakfast is in preparation, and our servants are spreading upon the soft grass the carpet which answers the double purpose of chair and table, each of us sets out in quest of the objects of his favourite pursuit. The Abbé is looking for plants, and finds a very choice collection. Edward, Philippe, Papigny, and I, hunt for insects under the dead leaves and stones. Our success is marvellous, and we fall in with splendid examples of *Coleoptera*, of a species quite unknown to entomologists, and one of them (a *Helluo*) of a kind of which no analogues have hitherto been found, except in the tropical regions of the old and new world. The necessary inference from this fact is, that the climate of the valley of the Jordan bears a great resemblance to that of India.

Our breakfast passes over merrily. The only qualification is, that the rain, coming on suddenly, mixed some water, not with our wine, but with our water. We sheltered ourselves as well as we could, or, to speak correctly, not at all, for there was no shelter. But fortunately the inconvenience did not last long; it was merely a passing shower, which soon subsided. During our meal, our Arabs were thoughtful enough to cut down some straight branches, which we intend converting into walking-sticks on our return. One of these Arabs, especially, never misses an opportunity of procuring for us what he supposes to be curious, in the hope of obtaining a bakshish, as a matter of course. With this view, he picks up, in one of the ravines we followed before reaching the banks of the Jordan, a piece of sulphur, which he brings to me in triumph; and, a short time afterwards, he finds, on the leafless branches of some of the shrubs we encountered on our way, some black balls, which he takes for the fruits of the condemned land, while they are, in reality, nothing more than the deposit left by the sting of an hymenopterous insect of the genus called *Cynips*.

By twenty-two minutes past twelve we leave, much too soon for our desires, this delightful spot, where the pilgrims are in the habit of bathing who come to visit the Jordan. This is pointed out to them as the identical spot where our Saviour was baptised. Can this tradition be relied upon? I am unable to answer the question except by a considerable doubt.

After having ascended from the meadow where we breakfasted, to the flat ledge of ground that imme-

diately surmounts it, and, in so doing, having followed in an opposite direction the same road by which we arrived, we make a sudden turn to the left, and march in the first instance due west, and in a line parallel to the Jordan, which is only fifteen yards distant from the road. By half-past twelve our course is south by west, and we are then only seven or eight yards distant from the river, which forms a creek or bay, one hundred and fifty yards wide. Here the trees having ceased to hide the opposite bank, we can perceive that it is covered with hillocks of grey sand. Beyond the small cove, we cross a morass, into which the Scheikh Mahmoud sinks with his horse. We are obliged to halt five minutes, to allow his friends to extricate both man and beast from the inhospitable mire.

By a quarter to one, we have in sight, distant about four thousand yards to our right, the Qasr-Hadjlah, which we left some hours before; we then enter a vast plain, destitute of vegetation, which recals the Sabkhah of the southern point of the Dead Sea. Across this plain, the road winds by which it is usual to conduct the pilgrims passing from the Jordan to the shore of the Dead Sea; this road is called Sekket-el-Bahr. At a particular moment my unlucky horse sinks up to the nostrils in the mire through which we are slowly picking our steps, and I confess that I am horribly alarmed. I scramble out as well as I can from the hole in which we are buried, and leave to Mahmoud and Mohammed the care of digging out my unfortunate charger. As to myself, I escape as quickly as possible from this dangerous place, making my way over the tufts

of glasswort which show themselves here and there, and give some consistency to the ground. It is close upon half-past one when this untoward accident befals me, and we are then marching west-south-west. At exactly one o'clock our road turns to the south-west.

At last, by a quarter to two, we reach the shore so long looked for, and at a distance of only fifty yards from the water's edge. We have then in sight, at a horizontal distance of six hundred yards, a small islet, scarcely fifty yards broad, and covered with rubbish. This is called the Redjom-Looth (Lot's mass of stones). What ancient buildings can ever have existed on this island? This question no one can answer; but most undoubtedly the ruins belong to a highly remote period, and probably are contemporaneous with the catastrophe which destroyed the Pentapolis. I am much inclined to think that these identical vestiges have given birth to the tradition, so often repeated by travellers, and in compliance with which it has been so long received as a well-established fact, that the ruins of Sodom existed under the sea; that they could be seen below the surface; and that during the very hot seasons, when the level of the waters became unusually low, these ruins remained high and dry in full view. It is needless to point out how thoroughly impossible this tradition is, as far as Sodom is concerned. Sodom was certainly situated at the southern point of the Dead Sea, and the Redjom-Looth is precisely at the opposite point, or, five-and-twenty leagues (seventy-five English miles) from the site of the Sodom of Scripture.

The spot where we have thus come upon the shore of the lake, is at a considerable distance from the mouth of the Jordan, and this mouth looks as if it were placed exactly at the angle of the northern face of the perimeter of the Dead Sea, and close by the foot of the mountains of Moab. But it is probable that this position is not quite correct, and there must be a certain extent of beach, which cannot be guessed from this distance, between the left bank of the Jordan and the foot of the Moabitic chain.

We turn due west, and by fifty-two minutes past one, we are on a kind of tongue of land, which, at the low-water season, must form an isthmus and connect the Redjom-Looth with the continent. This small islet, as we now see it, is divided from the main land by not more than a hundred yards, and by very shallow water, which our horses cross without difficulty and obtain a firm footing upon the island itself. I must here assert most positively that the alleged impossibility of horses wading through the waters of the Dead Sea, in consequence of the density of those waters, which would make them lose their balance, constitutes a wild fable resting on no foundation, and which, like many other fallacies, has been repeated at pleasure, thus acquiring progressive and increasing currency in the narratives of succeeding travellers.

After a few minutes we cross a wide and deep rivulet, or rather a small river, that empties itself into the Dead Sea, after running, as far as we can judge of its course, in a direction from north to south. We are then opposite a small creek, situated westward of the

Redjom-Looth, and penetrating some thirty yards into the land. By two minutes to two we are in front and exactly north of the small cape forming the western border of this creek. We then turn directly south, and keep marching, between meagre-looking shrubs, over a light soil covered with rolled pebbles, and strewed with trunks of trees having a carbonised appearance. We are now in the Rhôr-el-Djahir, and march on, maintaining an average distance of twenty or thirty yards from the water's edge, by following in a parallel course the windings of the shore.

Soon the direction of our road turns south by west, inclining gradually to the south-west, for more than half an hour, when it bears directly west-south-west. The beach on our left is covered with black floated wood, shrubs, brambles, and, at intervals, with tall thick reeds, until we reach the termination of the Rhôr-el-Djahir. At five minutes past two we see before us, about six thousand yards on our right, a flat ridge called El-Hadjr-Lasbah ; and a little more to the south, and distant about eight thousand yards, the Nakb-Goumran, towards which we direct our march by half-past two. We are then exactly in front of the mouth of the Ouad-Zerkah, which opens on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. In twelve minutes, the beach spreads out on our left, to a width of two hundred yards. By forty-nine minutes past two we have again neared the shore, which is only twenty-five yards distant to our left. By five minutes to three we have reduced to about a thousand yards our distance from the range of the mountains of Canâan, and a rugged

valley, called the Ouad-Goumran, opens to our right. A less elevated mountain, and hillocks of gray sand, divide us from the valley, and we find ourselves passing through the midst of ruins bearing the name of Kharbet-el-Fechkhah. In the side of the mountain lying between us and the great range, and in advance of the Ouad-Goumran, we distinctly perceive a cavern from the spot where we have arrived.

We are rapidly nearing the side of the mountains which seem to come forward to meet our road, so that by a quarter past three, we are only two hundred yards from the entrance of the Ouad-Goumran, and five hundred yards from the shore. Our course is then south-west. At sixteen minutes past three, we are again surrounded by the mass of ruins called Kharbet-el-Fechkhah, and fall in with an ancient wall to the right of our road, having its direction perpendicular to the track we are following. Some large hillocks of gray sand conceal the entrance of the Ouad. The foot of the mountain is then one hundred and fifty yards to our right, and the sea-shore five hundred and fifty yards distant to our left. The cave we had previously observed is now one hundred and sixty yards distant by horizontal measurement, and at an elevation of a hundred yards above our road. This cave is of a square form, and bears the name of Morharrat-es-Saïd.

The interval between the mountains and the sea-shore keeps constantly narrowing, so that by half-past three, we are marching due south, close by the foot of the mountain and at a distance of only two

Redjom-Looth, and penetrating some thirty yards into the land. By two minutes to two we are in front and exactly north of the small cape forming the western border of this creek. We then turn directly south, and keep marching, between meagre-looking shrubs, over a light soil covered with rolled pebbles, and strewed with trunks of trees having a carbonised appearance. We are now in the Rhôr-el-Djahir, and march on, maintaining an average distance of twenty or thirty yards from the water's edge, by following in a parallel course the windings of the shore.

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parts of our bodies as are exposed to their sting, these persevering enemies contrive to get within our clothing, and stab us even through cloth, linen, and flannel, with venom enough to drive us out of our senses.

Another comfort to be found in the vicinity of the Ayn-el-Fechkhah, I have already mentioned, namely, that the water of the spring is brackish, although, in the absence of better, it may be drank. We are obliged to use it for our broth and coffee, unquestionably the worst I ever tasted; but as we have no choice, we must even make wry faces and content ourselves with what we cannot remedy.

In spite of the mosquitoes, the Abbé and myself commence our usual hunt for ruins, plants, and shells, during the few hours that remain, before darkness sets in, and our welcome dinner is announced. The Abbé has selected the beach, making his way through the border of reeds; he has picked up, at the water's edge, some dead white shells which he exhibits to me in triumph, as a produce of the Asphaltic lake itself; but I soon induce him to abandon his conceit, by drawing his attention to the fact that these shells are mere *melanopsides*, nourished in the half-sweet water of the Ayn-el-Fechkhah; then, after their death, having been carried down into the lake, they have been cast back again on the beach, where time and weather and the bitter salt water by which they have been incessantly washed, have altered their outer shell and changed its original black colour to a brownish white. Just as the Abbé did, other travellers who have preceded us on these shores, have picked up dead shells thrown back

on the beach, and have inferred from this fact that some species of molluscas existed in the Dead Sea. But they have adopted this conclusion too hastily. I am thoroughly convinced that these specimens were no other than fresh-water shells, similar to the melanopsides picked up by the Abbé Michon, and that they had come originally either from the water-courses that empty themselves into the Asphaltic lake, or from the springs that are to be found on its borders.

Whilst the Abbé was rambling along the shore, I occupied myself in examining the Kharbet-el-Yahoud. In the middle of this venerable ruin my friend rejoined me. In turn, I show him my discovery, which proves to be more important than his; and in spite of the devilish mosquitoes which make us tear the skin from our faces and hands, we determine to take a plan of the antique structure, the foundation work of which, still existing, enables us to study its outlines through nearly the whole extent. This foundation consists of enormous blocks of unhewn stone, forming what may be called cyclopean walls, a yard in thickness.

The following is a correct description of all the distinguishable parts of this strange structure, which I do not hesitate in referring back to the period of Sodom and Gomorrah, and which forms in all probability a part of the remains of the last-named city. To the front face, running north-north-east, and thirty-six yards long, are attached three square pavilions, measuring six yards on each side, one at each extremity, and the third in the middle of the wall, which extends a little beyond the pavilion on the right. On the right flank of this

last pavilion another line of wall begins, twenty-two yards in extent, and running perpendicular to the front face. Of these twenty-two yards, the first six form the flank of the pavilion just mentioned, and the five last the left front of a similar pavilion, the outer wall of which stretches again a few yards beyond the wall perpendicular to the principal front. The left extremity of this principal front joins the end of another long wall, sixty-eight yards in extent, but turned more to the east than the first, or, as near as possible, north-east. The left wall of the square pavilion on the left, is twenty-one yards long, and also perpendicular to the front face. This left-hand wall is broken for a space of five yards ; then it appears again with an additional extent of fourteen yards. With this last portion are connected two other pavilions extending six yards on each side, with an interval of two yards between each. The walls along this new front stretch to the left, parallel to each other, for a length of sixteen yards, the last six of which are divided from the remainder by two additional walls, also parallel, and again divided by an interval of six yards. These two last walls have a total length of twenty yards, the last six forming an additional pavilion measuring six yards on each side.

It seems likely that the seven distinct pavilions which I have just described were dwelling-rooms or habitations attached to vast enclosures, the original use of which it is very difficult to guess at the present day. Were these enclosures sacred ones ? or were they merely parks in which cattle could be collected at night ? This is a point impossible to determine, and

I shall not even venture on the discussion. I shall merely remark that in a building, most probably used for religious purposes, and which I discovered some time after in the midst of the ruins of Hazor, and likewise in the temple of Mount Gerizim, I found pavilions similar in every respect to these, disposed in exactly the like manner, at the angles and in the centre of each front of the square space forming the sacred enclosure.

Delighted with our archæological discovery, we returned to our tent, with the satisfaction of people who feel that they have not lost their time. Whilst at work, we had forgotten the mosquitoes; as soon as we are doing nothing, we again feel the stings which we had disregarded for the moment, and begin once more to tear our skin from the flesh, in futile attempts to relieve their consequences. But setting aside the mosquitoes, our evening passed most agreeably, arranging our acquisitions of the day; map, drawings, notes, plants, shells, everything has been attended to, and we have much enriched our stores during the few hours which have just passed over.

February 7th.

The night has been calm and pleasant; we were rather tired, and slept ten hours without waking. Perhaps the smoke of our tchibouks proved distasteful to the mosquitoes of the Ayn-el-Fechkhah; but this is certain, they ceased to persecute us during our slumbers.

The Rev. Dr. Robinson gives, in his excellent book, a description of the Ayn-el-Fechkhah, which he

visited on his way from Ayn-Djedy to Jericho (on the 12th May, 1838). It was not possible that so attentive an observer could allow the fact of the presence of ruins situated so near the fountain to escape his notice. Accordingly he says :—" Near the fountain are the foundations of a small square tower and of other small buildings ; whether ancient or not, we could not tell." It is much to be regretted that the learned traveller should not have spared, as we did, a portion of his time for the investigation of these interesting ruins. Had he done so, I am certain he would have satisfied himself that they were neither small nor of trifling importance.

Our plan to day is to encamp near the Mussulman convent of Naby-Mousa, a short march ; but it offers this advantage, that we shall be able to make a more accurate survey of the country we are travelling through, having time at our disposal. We do not set out before a quarter-past eight, and then proceed north-north-east, leaving the Kharbet-el-Yahoud on our right. Twenty-five yards off to our left, the steep cliffs of the Djebel-Fechkhah begin to arise, whilst the sea is two hundred yards from our right, bordered by a dense thicket of gigantic reeds. By twenty-five minutes past eight, the foot of the mountain is concealed by a hill covered with fragments of ruins, and our road itself passes over similar vestiges, which only a practised eye can distinguish. A little further on, we are exactly in front of the summit of the Djebel-Atarous, which is most likely identical with the Mount Nebo of scripture.

By half-past eight, we notice, about fifty yards off,

on our left, a circular cavity, resembling a crater, having in front two high mounds of sand, which might very easily be taken for volcanic ashes. Ruins are apparent everywhere, and the Arabs give them the name of Kharbet-Fechkhah. The beach keeps constantly widening, and spreads out four hundred yards on our right, when we are in front of the Ayn-Araout, which flows along the edge of the reedy border. By thirty-five minutes past eight, we intersect a boundary ditch, five yards wide, evidently constructed by human labour.

The foot of the mountain bears away from our course, which has not changed, and is now one hundred yards from the road. Almost immediately after having crossed the ditch I have just named, ruins appear again in much greater quantities, and these are unquestionably the skeleton of a large city, of which the vestiges we descried on the opposite side of the ditch formed perhaps a suburb. We have now in sight, thirty yards off on our right, a ditch, lined with stones, which we follow in a parallel direction to a considerable extent. This is most probably the same boundary ditch that we crossed a moment since ; and has made an elbow in the direction of the north-north-east. The portion of these ruins through which we are now proceeding is still called by our Arabs, Kharbet-Fechkhah. By forty-one minutes past eight we are five hundred yards from the water's edge, and between our road and the foot of the mountain we descry the piled-up remains of a ruined tower. The border of reeds continues following the windings of the beach. Six minutes later we arrive opposite the northern extremity of a long

wall; in all probability, merely the continuation of the ditch lined with stones, of which we have already encountered two considerable portions. We are now marching over the foundations of a tolerably extensive square enclosure.

I have said that the ruins through which we are proceeding are not easily distinguished, and that it is very probable a hundred successive travellers might pass them by without the slightest idea of their existence. This remark is so feasible, that on my first warning the Abbé Michon of their presence, he laughed in my face, as much as to tell me that I was dreaming. Luckily, the boundary ditch which we had to cross, and the walls that appeared next, enabled me to make him recognise, with his own touch, what I called ruins, and which as he maintained were merely heaps of stones, thrown there by chance through a freak of nature. The Abbé, who is always open to conviction, when he sees actually, surrenders at once to conclusive evidence, and as soon as he has actually made out a single foundation of an ancient wall, he requires no further assistance from me to recognise the spot where ancient buildings once existed, of a strange, barbarous construction, characterising a period certainly contemporaneous with the catastrophe of the Pentapolis. I must add, that if the learned Dr. Robinson, whose scrupulous accuracy no one is more ready to admire and praise than myself, has not mentioned these ruins, it is because he travelled by a different road from that we are now following; and because, proceeding directly from the Ayn-el-Fechkhah to the banks of the Jordan,

he passed through the Rhôr-Djahir, as we did yesterday, but kept close to the beach, and thus left very far to his left the ruins of the immense primitive city, which I have the good fortune to be the first to point out to geographers and archæologists.

By ten minutes to nine, we are three hundred yards off from the foot of the mountain, and eight hundred yards distant from the sea-shore. Just then opens to our left the Ouad-Goumran, or Oumran, in front of which project boldly two immense mounds of compact sand, strewed with large quantities of rubbish, and amongst other heaps, a very apparent square ruin, particularly called the Kharbet-Fechkhah. These two mounds extend so far in front of the Ouad-Goumran, that we are obliged to oblique considerably to the right of the line we had followed without deviation, since leaving our last encampment. We therefore make a circuit round the basis of these two mounds, passing at a distance of twenty-five yards, and still marching through ruins. Having cleared the mounds, the flat range of country, strewed with rubbish, towards which we keep ascending, widens at the foot of the mountain, and the direction of our road is then due north. On our right, between us and the sea, a large ravined plain extends, covered with hillocks of sand.

By five minutes past nine the mountain is two hundred yards to our left, and we are separated from it by a small hill, the foot of which is fifty yards from our road. The plain separated us from the sea is here twelve hundred yards in extent. Ruins are still visible in abundance. By six minutes past nine we ascend

a small mound covered with rubbish, in the midst of which appears an avenue of upright stones, in good preservation, and we next reach the top of the opposite declivity, on the banks of a large ravine which forms the mouth of an ouad called the Ouad-Djoufet-Zabel. By a quarter past nine we are inclining to the north-west, over a high range of flat country, and passing through a fine avenue of stones, still accompanied to the right by a few ruins, which become more thinly scattered until they disappear completely a few minutes later. We are then distant at least eight thousand yards from the sea-shore, and can perfectly descry the low swampy beach we followed the day before. Thirty yards off on our left a dark brown mountain rises, rent and looking as if it had been roasted. Behind this mountain, and at the foot of the huge cliffs of the range of Canâan, runs the Ouad-Djoufet-Zabel, the mouth of which we crossed a few minutes since.

From the head of the Ouad-Goumran, the extensive ruins which we have found on our way bear the name of Kharbet-Goumran or Oumran. Let us begin by pointing out the very strange, if merely fortuitous, analogy between this name and that of the Gomorrah destroyed by fire from heaven, along with Sodom and the other condemned cities. My own conviction is without the slightest hesitation, that the ruins called by the Arabs Kharbet-il-Yahoud, Kharbet-Fechkhah, and Kharbet-Goumran, which form a continuous mass, extending without interruption over a space of more than six thousand yards, are in reality the ruins of the scriptural Gomorrah. If this point is disputed—a controversy for

which I am fully prepared, I beg my gainsayers will be so obliging as to tell me what city, unless it be one contemporaneous with Gomorrah, if not Gomorrah itself, can have existed on the shore of the Dead Sea, at a more recent period, without its being possible to find the slightest notice of it, in either the sacred or profane writings. Until they can give me better information respecting these ruins, which are unquestionably of some importance, since they cover a space no less than a league and a half (about four English miles) in extent, I must resolutely maintain my own opinion, and reply to my opponents: "There are the ruins of Gomorrah; go and verify them on the spot, if you think it possible to maintain a different opinion from that which I now set forth." The book of Genesis (chap. x., v. 19) contains a passage which seems at first sight to contradict the identification I propose, and which nevertheless I still maintain: the passage is as follows:—"And the border of the Canâanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza (עזה); * as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboïm, even unto Lasha." Let us first observe, that first of all St. Jerome makes Lasha, Callirhöe; a place where there existed some fine mineral springs, and situated in close proximity to the Ouad-Jerkah, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. St. Jerome was most probably in the right, and the place which this verse assigns to Zeboïm, between Sodom and Lasha, that is to say between the Djebel-Es-doum and the Ouad-

* This pronunciation of Gaza for the primitive name עזה, authorises completely the transcription Gomorrah for the primitive name עמרה.

Zerkah, seems to me to argue strongly in favour of the allocation I have made of the ruins of Zeboïm at the Talaa-Sebâan, at the foot of the mountains of Moab. Unfortunately the tenor of the same verse changes the natural order of the cities of the Pentapolis, such as I firmly believe I have correctly established it; since the town of Gomorrah happens to be here intercalated between Sodom and Admah, whilst Admah is found to be close to Sodom, and, according to my conviction, Gomorrah is situated at the northern point of the Dead Sea, at a distance of five-and-twenty leagues, or seventy-five English miles, from Sodom and Admah.

But is it not possible to give another explanation of this verse, in considering the four names, Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboïm, as the extreme points of two lines establishing the frontiers of the land of the Canâanites? As it is not in question to limit this land by the shores of the Asphaltic Lake, is it not natural to mention the two cities occupying the extreme points of the land? We have thus a far more intelligible designation, since the line up to which the possessions of the Canâanites extend has no longer any interruption; from Gomorrah to Sidon across the country, from Sidon to Gaza along the Mediterranean; from Gaza to Sodom across the main land, and from Sodom to Gomorrah along the Dead Sea; then again from Admah, that is to say, from a point nearly identical in regard to position with Sodom, up to the Ouad-Zerkah-Mâyn. In other words, the race of Canâan, son of Ham, occupied both shores of the Dead Sea, and all the

country comprised south of a line starting from Sidon and ending at the northern point, as far as another line starting from Gaza and ending at the southern point of the same sea. I do not insist absolutely on this explanation of a verse so difficult to be commented upon; but I do most absolutely persevere in the identification of the biblical Gomorrah with the enormous ruins to which are still attached the name of Kharbet-Goumran or Oumran.

Let me now resume my itinerary. At twenty-three minutes past nine, we continue marching north-north-east on a high range of flat ground, and pass at the distance of fifteen yards the side of the rent calcined mountain which I pointed out at a quarter past nine. Five hundred yards from our right many round sandy hillocks begin to show themselves, some covering the low plain extending from thence to the shores of the Dead Sea. By half-past nine we are in front of the northern extremity of the mountain already twice alluded to, and which, in this point, is perforated towards the summit by a cavern, with a semicircular arched roof. Is this a natural cave? I cannot decide the question, but I incline to think not. At this same moment, we have exactly on our right the northern point of the Dead Sea, and a tangent, drawn from the spot where we stand to this northern extremity, would be perpendicular to the direction of our road, which is north-north-west.

At thirty-seven minutes past nine we begin again to discern traces of ruins, situated on a pretty green flat, or rather, to speak more correctly, a meadow.

This meadow is called Ardh-el-Hadjr-Lasbah, and the ruins are known to the Arabs by the name of Kharbet-Lasbah. The mountain which we are then flanking, and which forms a part of the high range of Canâan, makes a bend in this place of about one hundred and fifty yards, so as to form a circle round the meadow. At forty minutes past nine we pass an isolated rock, most probably placed there by human hands, and called El-Hadjr-Lasbah; three other similar rocks, disposed at a distance of about fifteen yards from each other, are placed in the form of a segment of a circle on the meadow. We have evidently here the counterpart of the Celtic or Druidical cromlechs. The Arabs hold the first of these rocks in great veneration, considering it as having been a stone consecrated by Abraham, and used by the patriarch for sacrifices offered to the Almighty.

We find mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, four stones bearing particular names: these are, 1st, the Ebn-Bohan, the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben.* "And the border [of the territory of Judah] went up to Beth-hogla, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah, and the border went up to the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben. And the border went up toward Debir, from the valley of Achor." The same stone is mentioned again † as being also situated on the border of the territory of Benjamin. 2. The second stone is that of Eben-ezer, or the Assistance.‡ "And they pitched beside Eben-ezer." The origin of this

* Joshua xv. 6. † Joshua xviii. 17.
‡ 1 Samuel iv. 1.

name is traced back to Samuel.* "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." 3. The Traveller's stone (האזל אבן).† "The stone Ezel." 4, and lastly, the stone of Zoheleth, which was near En-rogel.‡

It appears, then, that even in the biblical days, particular isolated rocks bore particular names, and it is very possible that our Hadjr-Lasbah may be one of these stones. Besides, we know that the primitive altars of the Hebrews were to be made of "whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron."§ So it is possible also that the Hadjr-Lasbah may have been, agreeably to the tradition, a rock appropriated to the worship of the Almighty, in the days of the patriarchs. We might even, with some show of reason, be tempted to take the Hadjr-Lasbah for the stone of Bohan itself, which evidently must have existed in the same district; but, as the two names have no resemblance whatever, I am quite willing to give up the identification.

By forty-four minutes past nine we cross a large ravine, the commencement of which is not more than a hundred yards from our left, and on the same level as the Hadjr-Lasbah. On this side of the ravine are some ruins, which continue also on the opposite side. Here begins the tract called Ardh-el-Qenetrah. These ruins have a singular aspect, owing to the reddish-brown colour of the rude blocks of which they are

* 1 Samuel vii. 12.
† 1 Samuel xx. 19.
‡ 1 Kings i. 9.
§ Joshua viii. 31.

composed. We cross another ravine, beyond which the road begins to ascend. By nine minutes before ten, we are on the border of a deep glen, called the Ouad-el-Abiadh, which opens immediately on our right into a vast precipice. Our course is then due north, and by seven minutes before ten, we pass between a ruined square building, and an immense wall, constructed of red blocks, but, as usual, the foundations only remain. This wall makes a bend to the north-north-west, so as to form on our left a sort of large circular enclosure, towards the end of which a square ruin is joined. From the first square building, the traces of which I have named, another wall, similar to the first, bears away to the north-north-east on the flat ledge which we are following, which ledge does not extend more than a hundred yards to the right of our road.

Again a hundred yards farther on, or about two hundred yards from the right of our road, a small range of sandy hillocks commences, beyond which a valley appears, called the Ouad-Dabor. On the hill commanding this ouad from the eastward, we observe another ruined square building, constructed with blocks of red stone; and joining this building are the foundations of a wall, formed also of the same material, and winding up the opposite flank of the Ouad-Dabor. This place, which, as may be seen, presents undoubted traces of a considerable enclosure, dating, in all probability, from a very remote period, bears the special name of Racem-el-Qenetrah (the remains of Qenetrah). The mountains of Canâan have drawn nearer to our road, and the left branch of the enclosing wall just observed, rises along

their flanks, to descend again upon the plain, intercepting our road, which lies then west by north, at a place precisely opposite to some other ruins, which appear on the eastern flank of the Ouad-Dabor. It is close on ten o'clock when we pass over the foundations of the wall, beyond which we keep close by the foot of the cliffs on the left, until we reach the Ouad-el-Qenetrah by a winding path, the general direction of which is to the westward.

It would be very desirable to ascertain what ancient locality is represented by the Racem-el-Qenetrah. But I confess myself quite unable to propose any admissible theory on this question. Can it be the fortress in the neighbourhood of Jericho, which Pompey subdued after the conquest of Jerusalem—a fortress mentioned by Strabo under the name of Threx? The identification is possible, but far from likely.

We proceed nearly due west, and by ten minutes past ten, leave to our left the road leading from Jericho to Mar-Saba. By a quarter past ten, we make a considerable détour to reach the Ouad-Dabor, which begins from the south-east. By twenty minutes past ten, we gain the bottom of the ouad, where we halt to breakfast. This valley is adorned with the most beautiful grass, enamelled with delicious flowers; amongst others, we admire a *convolvulus*, or dwarf lily, with a delicate blossom. The sides of the hills, facing to the east and south, are clothed with an early spring verdure, which gives them a smiling aspect, very different from any we have hitherto seen. At the bottom of the ouad among the rocks we notice some

veins of the bituminous stone called Hadjr-Mousa, (the stone of Moses). This stone, which burns like an inferior kind of pit-coal, is used in Jerusalem to make cups and various other small objects, which are sold to the pilgrims as memorials from the Holy Land and the Dead Sea.

By nineteen minutes past eleven we start again, and after having followed for a short time the Ouad-Dabor, ascend its opposite flank. Some rather steep zig-zags take us, by twenty-seven minutes past eleven, to the crest of the ouad, from which we bear away in a northerly direction. But the ouad keeps running westward, and we soon find ourselves on a narrow ledge, or neck of land, comprised between the Ouad-Dabor, which we follow nearly in a parallel line, while keeping it a hundred yards to our left, and a green valley, which opens immediately to our right. This valley is commanded by calcareous hills, covered with verdure. Our route is now north-north-west, leading to a narrow ravine, eight or ten yards wide at the utmost, that carries us, by thirty-eight minutes past eleven, to the craggy platform upon which stands the Mohammedan monastery of Naby-Mousa. Here we discover a well, called Bir-er-Râay, beyond which appear the ruins of a wall. On our left, in a small glen, is a Mussulman chapel, called Qobr-er-Râay. Er-Râay, according to the Mussulmen, is the friend and confidant of Mousa or Moses. At length we approach the monastery, into which no Christian is ever admitted. We turn behind this religious edifice by making an elbow of a hundred yards, and establish our camp at

the foot of the Naby-Mousa. This forms a large square structure, with the entrance towards the north-east. It is now forty-five minutes past eleven, when we alight from our horses. Our tents are pitched, with their backs resting against a lime-stone hillock, of no great height, adjoining a continuous range of eminences of the same formation.

The Qobr-er-Râay is a thousand yards distant from the Naby-Mousa, in a direction west by south. From the top of the hillock at the foot of which we are encamped, we see very distinctly the Bordj-er-Riha, and the line joining these two points makes an angle of twenty-seven degrees to the eastward, according to the direction of the magnetic north. Lastly, the ledge, on the centre of which the monastery stands, is called Koutzban-Naby-Mousa (the sandy hills of Naby-Mousa).

Whilst our camp is forming, I send some of our Arabs to pick up samples of the calcareous bitumen which we met with at the bottom of the Ouad-Dabor, some to take with us, others to burn on the spot, with a view of ascertaining its combustible properties. I climb the summit of the neighbouring heights to obtain a good view of the surrounding country. It seems as if we were in the midst of a stormy sea suddenly turned into stone, such is the number and wavy appearance of the insulated hillocks rising in all directions. The Imam who presides over the religious fraternity of Naby-Mousa comes to pay us a visit—an interested one, of course. He is an animal in rags, bare-headed, with long, black, woolly hair, and an olive complexion; in one word, a perfect type of filth and fanaticism. This man is an Indian, and our

guides tell us that nearly all the dervishes who come to settle here are like the one we have before us—Indians. It seems we are expected to pay something, by way of welcome, to this ugly baboon. I therefore give him twenty piastres, which he receives without uttering a word of thanks, and with a most ferocious scowl.

The specimens of the stone of Moses I have sent for, are brought to me in ample quantities, and I extract from the heap a few more select than the remainder, because they contain perfect impressions of a very pretty *pecten*, the presence of which shell will, I hope, settle the geological period of the formation in which it is found. Some pieces of the limestone are forthwith ignited, and they burn like coal of an inferior quality, emitting at the same time a nauseous stench of bitumen. Loysel has gone in search of game, according to his praiseworthy custom. A kind of sparrow, thoroughly engrossed with chirping upon a heap of stones, disregards the approach of our Nimrod, who fires at him when close to the muzzle of his gun, and blows the unlucky bird to atoms. I am not quite sure that the poor little creature had not perched on the muzzle itself. Be that as it may, our sportsman is highly delighted; he picks up a wing and two legs, which are still hanging to each other, and triumphantly exhibits his spoil. "I have killed one at last!" he exclaims. "One what?"—"A lapwing!"—"That a lapwing; it was a sparrow!"—"Nonsense! it was a lapwing .... only a young one!" And we all laughed to our hearts' content.

According to the Mussulmen the tomb of Moses is

enclosed within the interior of the holy structure called by them Naby-Mousa, and at the foot of which we are encamped. Let us briefly examine this strange tradition, which cannot stand against a moment's inquisition. We read in Deuteronomy (xxxiv.): "1. And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho, and the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan. 2. And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea. 3. And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar. . . . 5. So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there, in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. 6. And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."

Whoever may have been the author of this thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy—a chapter which evidently cannot be attributed to Moses himself, but which was most probably written by Joshua—it is clear that Moses died and was buried in the land of Moab, that is to say, to the eastward of the Jordan. Consequently there is no Mussulman tradition which can be allowed to have the slightest value, when opposed to so precise a text as that which I have just quoted. This text has, besides, the advantage of giving rise to two curious observations. The first is, that the tenor of the third verse, which says: "And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar," leads necessarily to the conclusion that no argument

could be built * against the existence of the Dead Sea, upon these other verses of Genesis (xiii.), where it is said: "10. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar." And 12: "Abram dwelled in the land of Canâan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain, and pitched his tent toward Sodom." These verses contain no evidence that the Dead Sea did not exist before the catastrophe of the Pentapolis. Yet it is nevertheless from the silence of these verses, with regard to the Asphaltic Lake, that people have inferred its non-existence at the period to which the verses refer. Neither is there any mention made of the Dead Sea in the verse we have quoted from Deuteronomy. Are we, therefore, to conclude that this sea was unknown at the period when Deuteronomy was written? As such a conclusion is impossible, the same arguers have prudently passed over this verse altogether, so troublesome and untoward for the ill-constructed theory which has been long opposed to the sacred texts themselves, notwithstanding they are sufficiently explicit on this particular point.

The second observation suggested to me by the text I have just quoted, is in reference to the mount Pisgah of the Bible (פסגה). From all the passages of the Scriptures where mention is made of this

* The author replies here to one of the arguments brought against him by the most determined opponent he has found amongst his adversaries.—*Translator.*

celebrated mountain, it seems to result that it was in the land of Moab, and consequently on the left or eastern shore of the Jordan and of the Asphaltic Lake. I have vainly questioned the Thaameras, Djahalins, and more especially the Beni Sakhar Arabs, to find out if they knew of a Djebel-Fesgah in the tracts of country they had travelled through in the neighbourhood of Er-Riha. They all unanimously answered that there is but one mountain of this name, and that it is situated precisely above Jericho; in a word, that it is the Djebel-Fechkhah, the same that throws out in advance of the Canâan range the promontory called Rat-el-Fechkhah, on the northern flank of which is situated the spring called Ayn-el-Fechkhah.

The strange resemblance existing between the two names of mountains, Pisgah and Fechkhah, naturally struck me, and I have repeatedly asked myself whether the sacred text was not incorrectly interpreted in those passages where Mount Pisgah is mentioned, and whether this has not given rise to the erroneous, though generally received impression, that this mountain instead of being on the right of the valley of the Jordan, was in exactly the opposite position. Let me begin by stating, that an observer placed in Jericho can distinguish only two summits as remarkable for a higher elevation than the rest, or for being sufficiently high that all the country to the south and north can be distinguished from them. These are, in the Moabitic range, the Djebel-Atarous (Mount Nebo), and in the range of Canâan, the Mount Fechkhah.

This being ascertained, let us examine in succession

all the passages of the sacred text where mention is made of Mount Pisgah. We have first, the verse already quoted of chap. xxxiv. of Deuteronomy, where it is said "that Moses went up from the plains of Moab to the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho." Taking the Hebraic words as they actually are, it would seem as if Mount Nebo were the head, the summit, or the top of Mount Pisgah, that is over against Jericho, unless the word ראש, which means literally *on the summit of*, should have been employed here in the acceptation of *opposite to*; if it were possible to give this interpretation, though unfortunately I doubt it very much, the text would become quite clear, and the Pisgah of the Bible would be at once identified with the Fechkhah of the Arabs of the present day.*

Mount Pisgah is mentioned again in three other passages of Deuteronomy. We read (chap. iii. 17), "The plain also, and Jordan, and the coast thereof, from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, under Ashdoth-pisgah eastward." It seems strange that the expression, *to the eastward* (מזרחה), should have been introduced after the mention of the Pisgah. Does it not evidently result from this, that Pisgah being situated to the west-

* It seems to us that M. de Saulcy, in this and the following passages relating to Mount Pisgah, has taken unnecessary trouble in trying to find out for the words employed in the text any other than their usual and literal meaning; and this because he is labouring under a mistaken notion, which, with all due respect for our learned and conscientious friend, we shall attempt to point out, and to discuss by and by. For instance, the verse 1, chap. xxxiv. Deuteronomy, here quoted, means only,—that Moses went up from the plains of Moab to the mountain of Nebo, and to the summit of Mount Pisgah; this last (and in fact both mountains) being opposite Jericho.—*Translator.*

ward, it became necessary to state most explicitly that the territories of Reuben and of Gad were situated to the eastward, to avoid a possible confusion? I leave this point to be determined by profounder heads than mine. With regard to Ashdoth, Ounklouss explains this word by משפל, *spreading* or *flowing*. Cohen comments upon it as follows:—"It means the foot of the mountains spreading out like roots, or the torrents flowing from the top of the mountains." Let me observe in conclusion, that the Septuagint version does not translate the word Ashdoth, while the Vulgate renders it by *radices* (roots). The verse we have just quoted, if we examine it closely, tends rather to prove that Pisgah was situated westward of the valley of the Jordan.

The third passage concerning Mount Pisgah in Deuteronomy is more embarrassing, and yet it is far from being as conclusive as it might be supposed at first sight.—(Chap. iii. 27.) "Get thee up into the top of Pisgah," (says the Lord, speaking to Moses,) "and lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold it with thine eyes; for thou shalt not go over this Jordan." The text contains merely these words, צלה ראש הפסגה, and this text without the preposition אל, after the verb עלה (ascend), presents a kind of contradiction, as עלה is essentially a neuter verb, and consequently it cannot admit of being directly governed. But then, were we again in this instance to admit the possibility of translating the isolated word ראש, by *in front of, opposite to*, the verse in question would become perfectly intelligible. If this translation

(though a questionable and hypothetical one I confess) is not admitted, the text remains incomplete and obscure.*

Finally, we read in Deuteronomy, the following passage (chap. iv. 49) :—"And all the plain on this side Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the plain, under the springs of Pisgah." We have already seen, what was meant by the expression Ashdoth-pisgah. Let us observe that here again it is distinctly specified that the plain in question is in the eastern part of the valley of the Jordan.† The last member of the phrase means very clearly and literally, "Even unto the sea of the Plain, at the foot of Mount Pisgah, under Ashdoth-pisgah." This verse therefore proves nothing in favour of the opinion that places Pisgah to the eastward of the valley of the Jordan ; but precisely the contrary is to be inferred, since, in regard to the plain, it was found

* Here I must be permitted to differ with M. de Saulcy. Nothing can be more complete and clear than the literal and received translation of the text: "Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward and northward, and southward, and eastward;" whilst the version which he proposes is incomplete and obscure: "Ascend *opposite* to Mount Pisgah," without saying where, in what place? at what point of the compass? It may be asked why does M. de Saulcy adopt this opinion? Because he is restrained by one objection which seems to him paramount. Moses, according to the Scriptures, is not to go beyond (and is to die within) the limit of the land of Moab; and in M. de Saulcy's preconceived idea, Mount Pisgah is eight leagues (twenty-four miles) distant from this limit, and within the land of Canâan. We shall ascertain presently the actual value of this objection. —*Translator.*

† There can be no doubt that the contrary is meant, when proper notice is taken of the words "*this side* Jordan;" and especially of the last member of the phrase, which, as M. de Saulcy himself points out, tends to prove that the foot of the Pisgah, and consequently the Pisgah itself, is westward of the Jordan. Evidently, and in M. de Saulcy's own opinion, from the structure of the whole phrase, and from the way in which they are brought in, the words "*to the eastward*" refer to the plain at the foot of the Pisgah.—*Translator.*

necessary to mention that the plain itself was to the eastward. Indeed, it seems probable that the phrase contains allusion to some geographical point situated to the westward, the presence of which might lead the reader into a mistake.

In the book of Joshua (chap. xii. 3) we find this description of the country conquered by the Israelites, fighting under the orders of Moses:—"And from the plain to the sea of Chinneroth on the east, and unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth; and from the south under Ashdoth-pisgah." Does it not seem that this expression which we find constantly repeated and always the same, is something like a standard phrase, a kind of geographical formula? I am much inclined to think so. Besides, here again the verse we have just translated can be of no use whatever to prove that Mount Pisgah was situated eastward of the Jordan;* and as the words *to the eastward* are twice repeated, I infer again from this circumstance that this phrase alludes to some geographical point situated to the westward. If such was not the case, why should there be this solicitude to establish positively that the country so described is to the eastward of the Jordan and of the Dead Sea.†

Unfortunately the case is no longer the same when we come to examine verse 20 of the thirteenth chapter

* This member of the phrase, "*from the south, as far as the foot of Pisyah*," tends to prove that it was situated to the *south-westward*.—*Translator.*

† I must be allowed to differ with M. de Saulcy here. The texts tend to prove that the country so described, extends from the eastward, not only as far as *the Jordan and the Dead Sea*, but as far as the foot of the Pisgah. He seems to me to stop short of their real purport.—*Translator.*

of Joshua, where mention is made of the territorial possessions of the tribe of Reuben, possessions which were most certainly situated in the eastern part of the valley of the Jordan. "And Beth-peor, and Ashdoth-pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth." From the tenor of this verse it results unquestionably that Beth-peor and Ashdoth-pisgah were in the same country. As regards Beth-peor there cannot remain the shadow of a doubt; consequently for Ashdoth-pisgah doubt is almost equally difficult.*

In the Book of Numbers, mention is twice made of Pisgah. In the first instance, chapter xxi. 20. "And from Bamoth, in the valley that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh towards Jeshimon." The Hebraic expression is again ראש הפסגה; now it is very clear there can be no valley on the summit of a mountain, and these words, the *valley* that is situated *to the top of Pisgah*, clash against each other. The meaning of "the valley which is situated opposite to Pisgah," if it could be accepted, would certainly be much more natural.† But I repeat, that I do not believe this signification can be given to the word ראש.

Finally, the last biblical passage where mention is made of Pisgah, is in Numbers (xxiii. 14). Balak, king

* I beg my learned friend's pardon: the text merely implies that Ashdoth-pisgah and Beth-peor both belong to the territory of Reuben, and to the land of Moab, but it does not say a word of Pisgah being situated to the eastward of the Jordan.—*Translator.*

† And why, instead of giving to the word *toward*, the meaning of *upon*, which would render the text absurd; or that of *opposite*, which it has not, by the author's own admission; why not give it the very natural meaning of *versus, in the direction of*, as in the text immediately following.—*Translator.*

of Moab, wants Balaam to curse the Israelites, and with that object "he brought him into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah." The text is written this time אל הפסגה, and it can, strictly speaking, be translated, "on the summit of, or to the top of Pisgah;" but אל signifies *versùs, ad, ergà, adversùs, propè, juxtà*, more exactly than *super*, which is properly conveyed by על. It would then be quite natural to translate the biblical expression by, *adversus caput Pisgæ*, bearing the exact meaning of opposite Mount Pisgah.*

I have examined in order every passage concerning Mount Pisgah that is to be found in the Bible, without neglecting a single text, because the situation of this historical mountain is of the highest importance. Of all these passages, *only one* is decisive, fixing the position of Mount Pisgah to the eastward of the Jordan;† all the others leave us in doubt, nay, *they lead us to believe that Mount Pisgah was situated to the westward.* I shall not take upon myself to deliver a distinct opinion on this geographical point, but shall only observe, that on the shores of the Dead Sea, in proximity to Jericho, there is but a single mountain having a remarkable position that must have caused it to be distinguished in all times; this is the Djebel-Fechkhah. This mountain forms a kind of *redan*, or promontory, the Ras-el-Fechkhah, which juts out con-

* Why not translate it by *versus, towards*, in the *direction*, or *neighbourhood of*, Mount Pisgah, which would be much more natural and consistent.—*Translator.*

† We have seen in a previous note that this passage does not so fix it.—*Translator.*

siderably in front of the Canâanitish chain. And lastly the summit of the Fechkhah is exactly opposite, and in front of, the summit of the Djebel-Atarous, or Mount Nebo; this last being at a considerable distance in horizontal measurement from the valley of the Jordan and from the Dead Sea.*

That there is a striking analogy between the two names Pisgah (Fes-gah) and Fechkhah, cannot be denied; besides which, I must reject the supposition that the denomination Fechkhah can be a modern one, since it is at the same time applied to ruins contemporary with the condemned Pentapolis. All I consent to is, that to the eastward of the valley of the Jordan, as well as to the westward, there may have been a Djebel-Fesgah, or Fechkhah. But I am obliged to state once more that the Arabs, and amongst these the Benisakhars, actual possessors of the eastern region where the Pisgah of the Bible ought to be situated, are unanimous in declaring that there is no other mountain of this name than the Djebel-Fechkhah. Consequently we have here, to my very great regret, a curious question of biblical geography, which I am obliged to leave unresolved and doubtful.†

* Djebel-Fechkhah is, on the contrary, close upon the Dead Sea; its horizontal distance from the Djebel-Atarous is twenty-four miles, twenty-one of which are sea.—*Translator.*

† We need scarcely observe, since M. de Saulcy himself is the first to declare it, that this conclusion is most unsatisfactory. It amounts to no more than this, that the Djebel-Fechkhah of the present day can be no other than the Pisgah of the Bible; but that, anciently, according to the Scriptures, it was situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; whilst now, owing to some unaccountable circumstance, it happens to be found on the western shore. Well, however frisky the mountains of Moab may have been in their time, and however like heifers of three years old (*vitulæ conternantes*), it will not be readily admitted that, in this particular instance, Mount Pisgah should,

Eusebius, *ad vocem* Αβαρείμ, mentions the word φασγω, in a phrase which St. Jerome translates in the

one fine morning, have taken a sudden leap of twenty-four miles, across the Dead Sea, from the shoulders of Mount Nebo to its present situation. We must therefore be content to look for some more natural explanation. And our most judicious and learned friend would certainly have been the first to discover and point it out, had he not been clogged by a preconceived opinion, based on a steadfast and most laudable faith in the exactness of the Scriptures, but at the same time, on a mistaken notion of their meaning in that particular instance. A most extraordinary circumstance is that M. de Saulcy is here constantly close upon the truth, touching it, and pointing it out to us; in fact he is the light showing us the truth, without whose assistance we could not have seen it, and still he does not see it himself. It will naturally be asked why? Because he has adopted as an unquestionable fact, a point which seems to us quite erroneous: viz. that the extreme limit of the land of Moab was at the Jordan. In our humble opinion, based on the very passages of the Scriptures which M. de Saulcy has himself quoted, and on their admirable concordancy with the geographical documents which he has himself brought to our knowledge, that limit (the limit of the land of Moab) was at the extremity of the plain extending on the western shore of the Jordan, as far as the foot of Mount Pisgah to the south-west, and all along the off-shoots (Ashdoth) of the same mountain to the westward. The limit we propose is a most natural one, geographically speaking, since these (Ashdoth) *radices*, roots, or off-shoots, form a continuous line of crests, passing by the Ras-el-Fechkhah, El-Hadjr-Lasbah, Ebn-Bohan, Naqb-er-Riha, and then going up northward in a parallel line with the Jordan. For its concordance with the Scriptures, the reader will judge by the following review of the passages quoted by M. de Saulcy, which, in the hypothesis of the limit along the Jordan, were unintelligible, and at variance with each other, whilst they will now appear perfectly clear and harmonising.

In chapter xxxiv. 1, (Deuteronomy) instead of imposing on the word ערבת a meaning which M. de Saulcy himself acknowledges it has never had, we have merely to translate literally: "Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, and to the top of Pisgah, which is over against Jericho." There can be no objection to this, since the plains of Moab extended as far as the foot of both mountains, and as both mountains were opposite Jericho.

Verse 17, chapter iii. (Deuteronomy) becomes at once admirably clear, exact and geographical: "The plain, and also Jordan, and the *coast thereof* from Chinneroth, even unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, under *Ashdoth-pisgah*, *eastward*." This word, "eastward" comes here admirably to determine that it is only the eastern declivity of the Ashdoth that fall within this limit; and, according to M. de Saulcy's very sensible comment it is precisely because the Pisgah is situated to the westward, that it has been found necessary to express that the territories of Reuben and Gad were situated to the eastward. We see also that *the Jordan*, and *the land* are two different things, quite distinct from each other.

Again, verse 27, chap. iii. (Deuteronomy) becomes perfectly intelligible

following manner :—"Abarim . . . dicitur autem et mons esse Nabau, in terrâ Moab, contrà Jericho, suprà Jordanum, in supercilio Phasga. Ostenditurque adscendentibus de Libiade in Esbum, antiquo hodieque vocabulo juxtà montem Phogor." According to both Eusebius and St. Jerome, Mount Nebo, or Atarous, was on the top of Pisgah ; which seems in my opinion rather a strange situation for Mount Nebo.*

"Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, for thou shalt not go *over this Jordan*. *This Jordan* has evidently here the metaphorical meaning of *this limit*, because the real limit, Mount Pisgah and the Ashdoth, is to be for him a Jordan which he is not allowed to cross.

The same conclusion as to Pisgah being situated westward of the Jordan, and as to the limit of Moab going as far as Ashdoth, results again clearly, according to M. de Saulcy's own account, from verse 49, chap. iv. (Deuteronomy) "And all the plain on this side Jordan, eastward, even unto the sea of the plain, under the springs of Pisgah." (Ashdoth-pisgah.)

Now, if we examine verse 3, chap xii. of the book of Joshua—"And from the plain to the sea of Chinneroth on the east, and unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth ; *and from the south under Ashdoth-pisgah*." (the foot of Pisgah.)—what is the natural conclusion to be drawn from this text? That the plain of Moab extends as far as Pisgah, and that Pisgah is to the *westward* and *southward* of the plain. And so it is at the present day.

Coming at last to the famous verse 20, chap. xiii. of Joshua, which so much puzzles M. de Saulcy, with regard to the territorial possessions of the tribe of Reuben, what does it tell us? That Beth-peor, Ashdoth-pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth are in the same territority. This is an additional proof in favour of our argument, since by M. de Saulcy's own statement, the limit *was the same for the land of Moab and for the tribe of Reuben*, and here we have the Ashdoth within this limit. This would also prove that between Beth-hogla, El-Hadjr, and the Dead Sea, the land still belonged to the tribe of Reuben.

Again, verse 20, chap xxi, of Numbers, is quite correct and natural : "And from Bamoth, in the valley, that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh towards Jeshimon."

And so in verse 14, chap. xxiii. of Numbers: "Balak, king of Moab, took Balaam into the field of Zophim, *to the top of Pisgah*." Doubt, therefore, is no longer possible; the Djebel-Fechkhah fulfils all the conditions that can be required to establish its identity with the Pisgah of the Bible, and in proposing this identity, we are in perfect harmony with the Scriptures. *Translator*.

* *In supercilio*, means *looking down upon, frowning at*, and this leaves Mount Nebo where it is, exactly opposite to Mount Pisgah.—*Translator*.

Let us now leave this somewhat lengthy digression, and return to our halt near the Mussulman convent of Naby-Mousa. I arrived with a violent headache, which leaves me no great zeal for the researches I might make in the neighbourhood of our camp. As soon as our tent and cots are arranged, I throw myself upon my bed and take a couple of hours' siesta. I had hoped that on awaking, my headache would have disappeared, but such is not the case. I try to collect a few samples of rocks in the neighbouring ravines; but my spirits are exhausted, and I sit down piteously, smoking near our canteen fires, until dinner-hour arrives. I copy in Indian ink my observations of the morning, and also the day's march upon my map. At last, the usual meal is brought in, but considerably more unpalatable than usual. Every thing is poisoned with smoke, and what smoke!—the smoke of the calcined stones of Moses. It seems as if we were condemned to swallow huge pieces of bituminous pavement. This neither helps to restore my head nor my stomach; as soon as coffee is brought in, I seek relief in bed, and sleep without waking throughout the night.

February 8th.

This morning the headache has left me; I find myself in sound health and spirits, and think once more with delight, that we are about to return this very day to Jerusalem, to complete our examination of all the ancient monuments of the Holy City. By exactly eight o'clock, all being ready for starting, we mount our horses and take our leave of Naby-Mousa.

Passing again before the monastery, we proceed in a west-north-west direction, by a path that rises between two rounded cliffs forming the opening to an exceedingly craggy ground, furrowed in every direction by deep ravines, and commanded by limestone hills, often exceedingly abrupt. At twelve minutes past eight, our course is west by south, and we continue this direction for a considerable time. In a few minutes we descend a ravine upon a ledge, forming the head of the Ouad-el-Atzrour (the valley of the abundant waters, from ثرور plural of ثرّ ?), and closing it to the southward. On our right opens the Ouad-el-Mesraoul, an abrupt and deep valley, the general direction of which is from east to west. Soon after we descry, at a distance of two thousand yards, the summit of a high mountain called the Sebq-et-Theif (the precursor of the ghost); whence comes this name? I cannot furnish an idea.*

At twenty-four minutes past eight, we are still in the same direction, in a line fifty yards distant from the left of the Ouad-el-Mesraoul, whilst to our own left opens a very steep hollow valley, or rather ravine. By half-past eight, after passing between two lines of hills, we find ourselves again upon a neck or promontory, twenty yards broad; the Ouad-el-Mesraoul is then only fifty yards from our right, and on our left we have another deep ravine, branching off into the same we noticed a moment since. Just then we descry in front, and at a distance of about six thousand yards on our left, the plain called Sahel-el-Ebqêa. Afar off,

* Might not this name have some connexion with the wanderings of St. John the Baptist in the desert?—*Translator.*

on the flanks of the hills situated beyond the Ouad-el-Mezraoul, we notice again the traces of transported fragments of reddish-brown stones, looking as if they had been burnt, and which appear to me volcanic ejections from a crater. The direction of these spots is turned to the north-west.

By forty minutes past eight, our road, still running along the edge of precipices opening on our left, is directed westward. Soon after the precipices appear on each flank, and we find ourselves on a neck of land, which sometimes becomes extremely narrow. By forty-six minutes past eight, we recognise upon this neck evident traces of an ancient paved road. This road, unquestionably, did not lead to Jericho, but more probably to the city, the ruins of which we discovered at the Racem-el-Qenetrah, if not to the Kharbet-Goumran, or rather, to Gomorrah itself. By fifty-three minutes past eight, our course turns west-south-west, and we fall in with other traces of the ancient road. To our left a hollow green valley opens before us. By six minutes to nine we encounter more vestiges of the ancient road, which continue for the next ten minutes. We then issue from the defile, which we have been threading close upon an hour, and enter upon a flat ledge bordered by rounded cliffs, crossing it in a due westerly direction.

Soon after this, we turn west-south-west, running along the flank of another ravine that opens on our left.

At a quarter past nine, we are again upon the ancient road; and eight minutes later, after having marched for some time due west, we turn west-south-west again, on

entering a valley which is called Ouad-el-Médaouarah (the circular valley); this may rather be called a platform strewed with ruins, the name of which I was unable to procure. At twenty-eight minutes past nine, we crossed the dry bed of a torrent coming from a valley that opens on the right and immediately turns off westward; this is the Ouad-es-Sedr. To the left another valley opens, at a distance of about three hundred yards; near the entrance are three grottoes used as cisterns, which we distinguish very plainly; this place is called Heraïb-er-Rahouahoua. The bed of the torrent we have just crossed, makes a bend here and a sharp elbow, thus drawing near the road we are following, which now runs parallel to it, while winding up the side and to the top of a hill called Heudb-ez-Zouar (the prince's hump). By forty-one minutes past nine, we reach the top of the hill, and thence descend again by two very long zig-zags, bearing the name of Aqbat-es-Soulthan (the descent of the Sultan), upon a flat ledge called El-Melâeb (the place of gambling); which point we reach by forty-six minutes past nine.

Here we find ruins and a pavement of large blocks fixed in the rock. We then shape our course due west, and soon arrive at a small square enclosure, of which the foundations only still remain. By fifty-six minutes past nine, we march west-north-west, and cross other foundations of a long wall, built of enormous blocks; this wall is two yards thick and makes two successive elbows. The first portion inclines towards north-west; then by a turn forming an obtuse angle, it turns north-east, to start off again at

right angles to the north-west. Far distant, to our right, volcanic evidences of transported fragments continue to appear. At one minute after ten, our course is west by north, while flanking a ravine that runs on our left. Here again are ruins composed of very large blocks, but they are completely unknown to the Arabs. This particular spot is named Maksar-el-Hesan (the place of the broken horse).

It would be highly interesting were it possible to ascertain the ancient city to which the strange ruins of El-Melâeb appertain, the name of which from its signification is still more strange than the ruins themselves. (The place where people met to gamble!) The sense of this term would lead us at once to suppose that the Arabs, finding the name of the locality very nearly approaching, with regard to pronunciation, a word of their own language having a meaning that made it easily remembered, may have altered it without any scruple, to suit it to their own use. Let us enquire if it is possible to find some name that can be brought into close comparison with our Melâeb.

We read in Judith (iv. 4) that the Israelites sent emissaries to Beth-horon, to Belmen and to Jericho, to induce the inhabitants to place their towns in a state of defence, so as to close against the enemy, that is to say against the Assyrians, led on by Holophernes, the entrance into Judæa by the passes leading through the high mountains. In the Latin version, the name of this locality, is written Baalmaim. In chap. vii. ver. 3 of the same book, mention is made of a place called Βελθεκέμ,*

* Belmaim, in the English version.

which Reland considers as being exactly the same; and consequently he proposes to adopt in both passages Βελθὲμ or Βελμὲν, as the reader may choose. The enemy was likely to come on by the valley of the Jordan, since Jericho is one of the towns, the inhabitants of which are recommended to be on their guard, and to close the passage against the Assyrians. In turning Jericho, because this place commanded the usual road leading from the valley of the Jordan towards Jerusalem, an invading army could very easily proceed towards the pass, though a narrow and difficult one it is true, beyond which lie the very considerable ruins of El-Melâeb; and this became the more practicable as a public road, the evident remains of which I recognised, most certainly occupied the defiles in advance of El-Melâeb. This single consideration induces me to look to El-Melâeb for the Βελμὲν of the book of Judith. I have already explained on a former occasion, that the Arabs are in the constant habit of changing B into M, and M into B; and, owing to this permutation, which is quite natural to them, Βελμὲν may very easily have become Μελβὲν, and between this and Melâeb, the difference is so small, that it seems probable the Arabs have altered this name, the meaning of which they could not understand, as it had, in fact, no meaning at all, into Melâeb, which contained a meaning that was quite familiar to them.

I shall add but one word more concerning this passage of the book of Judith, and this is, that it results from the measure taken by the Jews in sending

emissaries to Beth-horon and Jericho, that two distinct armies threatened Jerusalem, the one following the road along the heights, the other proceeding by the way of the valley of the Jordan. Besides, this mode of advancing would be suggested by prudence to a commander who had to take care that his soldiers should find the necessary subsistence on their march. Had he thrown a vast multitude in one single direction at the same time, he would have ruined the country and starved his own men ; instead of which, by dividing his host into two distinct bodies, acting simultaneously by different roads, he was sure to divide the forces of the defenders, whilst providing for all the wants of his own invading army.

To resume what I have just been saying, the ruins situated at El-Melâeb are unquestionably scattered across an ancient road, which led from the valley of the Jordan into the high country, and towards Jerusalem.

The book of Judith tells us of a place called Belmen, which was certainly a fortress situated upon a road of the same description, and at no great distance from Jericho. I consequently propose to look for this Belmen in the ruins of El-Melâeb.

To return now to our itinerary. From the spot called Maksar-el-Hesan, we can descry in the distance, to our front and a little to our left, the summit of the Mount of Olives. Proceeding then almost constantly westward, we travel through a fine wide plain, very favourable for cultivation, but which looks at present as if it were neglected. At a quarter past ten, we

march west by north; we have now in sight, on our left, the ruins of a large khan, and at about fifteen hundred yards distance to the southward, a grotto hewn in the side of the mountain, which closes in the plain in that direction. This grotto is called Raq-ed-Deir (the small spring of the convent). On our right to the north-west, appears, about eight thousand yards off, an eminence covered with ruins, and called Arkoub-es-Safah (the height of Safah). What Safah can this be? Another question which I am unable to solve.

By twenty minutes past ten, we pass close by a modern fountain, to the right of which runs the road leading to the ruined khan I have just mentioned; this building, which the Arabs only know under the name of Kharbet-el-khan (the ruined khan), is then distant three hundred yards, at the utmost, on our left: here we pass by a burying-ground situated between the road and the khan. In this place the land is well cultivated, and the plain is cut through on our right by the dry bed of a rivulet, which we followed in a parallel line. By twenty-eight minutes past ten, the plain becomes covered with large, low hillocks; between which we proceed westward. By thirty-four minutes past ten, the dry water-course, which I mentioned a moment since, enters a valley called Ouad-es-Snecel, and crosses our road, passing to our left; five minutes later, it crosses it a second time; and, at last, by a quarter to eleven, we fall in again into the Er-Riha road, the same on which we travelled three days before. From this moment I give up my topographical notes

with regard to ground which I have already sufficiently studied, when I passed through it on the former occasion.

As soon as we have entered the valley we had already traversed in an opposite direction, we hasten our march to escape the rain which has been threatening for the last hour. On reaching the Bir-el-Haoud, we halt for breakfast, and are obliged to take refuge in the ruins of the neighbouring khan, from the large drops of rain that are now beginning to fall. We speedily make our way back to El-Aazarieh, and, as the weather clears up for a short interval, we turn out of our road to enter the village, and visit, as we pass by, the sepulchral grotto to which tradition applies the miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus. This is a deep cave divided into several stories, and into which you descend by a very steep staircase; at the end of it, the sides of the rock are found to be lined with a coating constructed of large hewn stones, with ogival openings; a rough, clumsy altar in stone, is used on certain days, for the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass. Is this really the funeral cave where the body of Lazarus was deposited? I can say no more than that it is perfectly possible. This much at least is certain, that in the days of the Crusades—to which period are to be referred the ogival constructions of the interior—the tradition concerning the cave was already firmly established.

From El-Aazarieh, where we halted a quarter of an hour, we return as fast as possible to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the gate of St. Stephen. We are thus

once more in Jerusalem, without having met with any untoward accident, and with an ample harvest of newly discovered facts. The rain attacks us in good earnest on the flank of the Mount of Olives and we are highly pleased to procure a shelter, as soon as possible, in our cells of the Casa-Nuova. After an hour's rest, given to the delights of mocha and latakia, I sketched in my topographical observations of the morning, and indulged agreeable reflections on the many important discoveries I have made during the fortunate excursion which I have just concluded. The rain has settled in for good; the sky is overcast in every quarter, we may, therefore, look for a continuance of this weather for some days at least.

From February 8th to 21st.

I reserved the intention of making a detailed and separate study of the ancient monuments in and about Jerusalem, and now propose to carry this plan into execution; grouping together under the name and head of each particular structure, all the observations which I have made in regard to it, and, in most cases, at several distinct visits. This was the only course I could adopt to avoid repetitions, and to spare my readers the tediousness of going several times over the same subject. They will, I hope, excuse my dismissing in two lines the history of our last stay in Jerusalem, for the purpose of proceeding immediately to the examination of the curious relics of ancient times existing in this celebrated city, and its neighbourhood. I arrived with the impression that I should find no traces

of monuments dating from the period of the kings of Judah; I have from ocular investigation convinced myself, that the case is quite different from what I suspected, and that these monuments are abundant. I trust I may succeed in conveying this conviction to the minds of all who may do me the honour of reading this book; the object of which is rather to state conscienciously what I firmly believe to be the truth, than to impose my own ideas on other people, saying: "this is my creed which I call on you to adopt."

From the day of our return to Jerusalem, until Friday, February the 21st, we were almost constantly shut up in the Casa-Nuova, by the incessant rains which caused nearly forty houses to tumble down; so that all the streets of Jerusalem are intercepted here and there by barricades, consisting of broken walls, which passengers must scramble over as they may, taking every precaution they can think of to escape the misfortune of breaking their legs. Our evenings, when we have found it possible to cross the threshold of the convent, have been passed at the residence of our friend, M. Botta; with the exception of a few which we spent with the excellent family of Dr. Pizzamano. This continued attack of the weather has driven us to the most comical despair: let the sun but exhibit the faintest ray, and we immediately make our escape to the open country, where we risk losing ourselves in the bogs of the plain of Esdraelon. And this is no idle rhodomontade, for the letter-carriers from Beyrout, usually so regular, arrive now only after a delay of several days, occasioned by the difficulties resulting from roads completely broken up.

Our heavy luggage will find it very difficult to traverse them; but our patience is at an end, and we look forward to our departure from Jerusalem as to the hour of a happy deliverance.

Having thus cut short a long story, I hasten to begin my archæological review of the holy city. As the area of Solomon's temple is entitled to the place of honour, I commence with that celebrated locality.

EL-HARAM-ECH-CHERIF,—THE ENCLOSURE OF THE TEMPLE.

I was aware long since, that there exists in the interior of Jerusalem, and at a particular spot of the enclosure of the Seraglio, which has taken the place of Solomon's temple, a portion of wall which the Jews have in all times considered as a fragment of the original building. I also knew that the foot of this wall, which the Jews were not forbidden to approach, was considered by them a sort of sanctuary, where they came to pray every Friday evening; and where they were often seen lamenting, crying, and thrusting their heads into the cavities of the holy wall,—so that their tears might water it, while they pondered over the fall of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the temple. As I then supposed that this was the only vestige of the edifices of Solomon I was likely to meet, the reader will readily conceive that my first visit to the enclosure of the Harem was directed towards the Heit-el-Morharby (the western wall). Under this appellation the ancient structure is known in Jerusalem, although the German and Polish Jews who settle in the city pronounce the name Coutz-el-Maarabeh.

On arriving in front of this venerable relic, I was struck with admiration: up to a height of more than twelve yards from the ground the original building has remained entire; regular courses of fine stones, perfectly squared, but with an even border standing out as a kind of frame-work enclosing the joints, rise over each other to within two or three yards from the top of the wall. A moment's inspection is enough to ascertain without any doubt that the Jewish tradition is positively correct; a wall like this has never been constructed either by Greeks or Romans,—we have evidently here a sample of original Hebraic architecture. In the inferior courses, the stones are on the average twice as wide as they are high; now and then, however, some square blocks happen to be laid between the long ones. The four inferior courses nearest the ground, are formed of square blocks, with the exception of the last but one, which is composed of blocks three times as long as they are high. As the courses successively rise above the ground, the dimensions of the blocks decrease; and, lastly, every course recedes rather more than an inch behind the surface of the one immediately below it, and these successive recessions constitute, as may be easily conceived, a most important fact in connection with the Solomonian wall. The portion of this which is left to the Jews as a place of prayer-offering is comprised between the enclosure of the Mekhemeh (or Turkish tribunal) and the side-wall of a private house. Its length, measured between these two limits, is nearly thirty yards. Beyond these walls, which defy escalade, the ancient construction may be seen extending still, in a straight line, about twelve

yards to the right, and eleven to the left, or in the direction of the Mekhemeh. Beyond that, the modern buildings conceal the original enclosure of the temple. Again, the primitive wall is crowned towards the summit by several courses of hewn stones regularly disposed, but of small dimensions. These upper courses are of comparatively recent date, and their age cannot be referred to a period anterior to the Mohammedan conquest.

On the face of the ancient wall appear large notches which have been made at some undeterminable period, for the purpose of fixing a pediment over this part of the enclosure. These notches, hollowed out in the shape of a niche, that is to say, round at the top, with a rectangular basis, are of different dimensions; one of them is nearly four feet high; perhaps they have been made at the period of the rebuilding of the temple by Herod, to whom the use of pediments must have been quite familiar. Was there below this pediment a gate or postern giving access into the holy enclosure, and pierced through the original wall? To ascertain this point it would be necessary to enter some private houses, but in this country such a permission is not easily granted.

In studying carefully the Heit-el-Morharby, I had learnt to recognise, wherever they might appear, the symbolical marks of the Judaic construction, or earliest buildings, dating from the period of Solomon, and the kings of the family of David. I could now begin the inspection of the outward enclosure of the temple, with the certainty that I should not be mistaken with regard to the age of the different styles of architecture I might

meet with in the course of this examination. Following then the street called Tharik-el-Aalam (the *Via dolorosa*, or path of sorrows), I proceeded to the gate of St. Stephen (Bab-Setty-Maryam), passing along the whole northern face of the enclosed area of the temple. Two gates placed at the extremity of dark lanes, give access to the flat eminence of Moriah, or rather to the extensive green-sward, in the centre of which the temple stood, and now occupied by the Qoubbet-es-Sakhrah. Such is the proper designation of the Mosque of Omar.

It is quite impossible, on account of the number of modern buildings, such as the Seraglio and the barracks, that extend in front of this long northern face, to ascertain whether any fragments of the original enclosure are mixed up with the construction of these edifices. From the summit of the terrace of the Seraglio, the Christians who are fortunate enough to obtain permission to ascend there, enjoy the nearest possible view of the interior of the Harem. I am indebted to the intervention of our friend, M. Botta, for the pleasure I enjoyed in contemplating, from the top of this terrace, the holy area, to which, in my quality as a Christian, I was forbid access under pain of death; and I have been able to appreciate from thence the scrupulous exactness of the plan of the Harem, drawn by Catherwood, and republished in the admirable plan of Jerusalem, which we owe to the care and researches of the late M. Schultz. A third of the length of this northern face—I mean the portion that adjoins the north-eastern angle—is bordered by an extensive *piscina*

or pond, on the subject of which I shall have something to argue in its proper place. As you draw near the edge of this piscina, you easily recognise the angle of the Solomonian wall; four fine courses of enormous blocks, in bossage, form the elbow on the northern face of the holy enclosure, and leave no doubt as to the presence on this very spot of the angle of this same enclosure. The modern rampart rests against the portion thus jutting out from the corner of the northern face, and forms the continuation of the eastern face of the Temple, which is thus connected again with the present wall of the city.

Going out by the gate of St. Stephen, and turning immediately to the right, you pass by a quadrangular platform, formerly the foundation of a Christian church now demolished. According to tradition this is the place where St. Stephen was stoned, and here commences the Mussulman burying-ground. At exactly thirty-one yards and a half from St. Stephen's gate, the face of the town-wall is intersected by a long vertical line of Solomonian construction; this marks the eastern side of the original angle, of which we have seen the northern side, when examining the piscina. In this place eleven courses of Solomonian blocks have remained entire, and they continue extending towards the south along the face of the wall. Some of these blocks in bossage are also in very high relief, standing out even more than usual beyond the surface of the joints. I measured two, which are no less than five and seven yards long, by nearly one yard high. The reader may judge by these

measurements, of the enormous size of the materials employed by Solomon.

The eleven courses soon cease to appear, the lower ones only having retained their original position. The portion of the original face which thus offers itself first, is a little more than a foot in rear of the face of the modern wall, into which the gate of St. Stephen opens. It is twenty-five yards two feet long. At the extremity, and about two yards behind this face, another commences, fifty-five yards long, with a basement formed of two courses of primitive blocks ; the upper course receding a little more than a foot behind the lower one. The wall resting upon this basement recedes, likewise, a little behind the surface of the second or upper course. From the wall above the basement the two yards must be measured, which I have laid down as being the distance between the planes of the two faces.

At the southern extremity of the wall, fifty-five yards long, the original materials begin again, standing out so that the face, commencing at this point, is exactly the continuation of the face of the north-eastern angle. Twenty-five yards before coming to this new angle, two courses appear on the same level, formed of two enormous stones, each about five yards long, and one yard and a half high. Between these two immense blocks and the new face of the primitive wall, the materials are small ; the town-wall is consequently modern in this part, where it was probably constructed to close up a breach.

The next Solomonian face, beginning at exactly eighty yards from the north-eastern angle, extends

twenty-one yards in length. The lower courses only are of the original material.

Then succeeds another face, jutting out two yards over the preceding one, and extending altogether sixteen yards and a half in length. Here is situated the Golden Gate (the "Portes Oires" of the Crusaders). With the exception of the side piers of the two arches of the gate, and the copings of the latter, all the remainder of this entrance is modern, and of Turkish construction. The piers, are two yards thick, and built of large hewn stones, very superior, no doubt, to the blocks of modern masonry to which they are adhering, but equally inferior, with regard to dimensions, to the blocks of the Solomonian portions of the same enclosure. It would be too tedious to describe minutely the mouldings, overloaded with ornaments and leaves of the acanthus, and other foliage, covering the copings of the two arches of the Golden Gate; I would rather refer the reader to the drawings which I have been able to sketch of them, notwithstanding their advanced state of dilapidation, which time has terribly accelerated. The width of each of the arches of this gate is about four yards. In the modern masonry, towards the summit of the wall, and exactly above the centre of the double gate, an ancient capital is fitted, belonging apparently to the Roman style of the Lower Empire.

To what period can we refer the Golden Gate? This is a question which has been often discussed without having received a satisfactory solution. According to the Christian tradition, this is the gate under which our Saviour passed on the day of his

triumphal entrance into Jerusalem; and I declare, without any hesitation, that I fully adopt the Christian tradition in this respect. I feel compelled to attribute to Herod the construction of the Golden Gate, and I am ready to produce my reasons for so doing.

We know that it was by this gate that the Emperor Heraclius made his triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, when he brought back to this city the holy cross, which he had reconquered from the Persians: this gate, then, existed in the days of Heraclius. Then again, there is no mention made of this gate amongst the buildings with which Justinian embellished Jerusalem; neither is it in accordance with the style of the other edifices of Justinian. Still less does it resemble the monuments belonging to the period of Hadrian. Instead of that, it exhibits an exaggerated vegetable decoration, essentially in the Hebraic fashion, but mixed up with Hellenism. Then, I ask, who was more likely than Herod to have built this highly ornamental gate at the time of the construction of the still more sumptuous Temple which he caused to be erected? Backed by this chain of argument, the Christian tradition ascends to positive certainty. There can be no doubt that the tradition existed in the days of Heraclius, since it was precisely by this Golden Gate, sanctified by our Saviour's entrance, that this monarch chose to make his own entrance into Jerusalem, with his invaluable trophy.

One word more. Against the southern face of the enclosure of the Temple, is to be seen the Mosque of El-Aksa, which was originally a church in honour of

the Virgin Mary, erected by order of Justinian, if we are to believe the historian Procopius. Considerably below the level of this church, but adjoining it in the surrounding wall, appears half concealed by the garden-wall of the Mosque of El-Aksa, and half buried, a fine gate exactly similar in style to the Golden Gate. This second gate has necessarily been walled up simultaneously with the construction of the church. It therefore cannot belong to the Byzantine period. Neither is it Roman; there can be no doubt of the latter fact; but then we must refer it, as we have done with the Golden Gate, to the period of Herod, and consider it as a part of the magnificent constructions ordered by this monarch. Of course, I may be mistaken, but I shall wait until my error is pointed out to me by peremptory arguments, before I give up this opinion.* Williams, in his excellent book on the holy city (vol. ii. p. 355 and following) has accumulated many facts demonstrating that the Golden Gate, in perfect accordance with the Christian, Mussulman, and Jewish tradition, is really one of the gates of the temple. He allows you to see that his inclination prompts him to recognise in it an edifice erected by Herod; but as he is alone in this opinion, he has not chosen to express himself boldly. But we are now two, and I maintain, until evidence proves that I am in the wrong, that the Golden Gate is neither Byzantine nor Roman. Let it be clearly under-

* See Williams's excellent discussion (the Holy City, vol. ii. p. 372, and following) on the identity of the Church of the Virgin with the Mosque of El-Aksa. It is difficult to meet with a book more carefully and more conscientiously written than the one I am now mentioning: I hold it in the highest esteem, and greatly value the author's judicious criticism.

stood that I am only speaking here of what I have been able to examine thoroughly at my leisure, on the exterior side of the Harem. This gate is of a very peculiar style, which agrees admirably with the Greco-Jewish period, that is to say, with the reign of Herod the Great.

During the existence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the "Portes Oires" remained closed, and were only opened twice a year. The first time, on Palm Sunday, in commemoration of the triumphal passage of our Saviour, when he entered Jerusalem through this gate; and the second time, on the day of the festival of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, in remembrance of the entrance of Heraclius. Most probably, during that period, this double gate was only closed with a door, and not walled in. It seems very difficult to admit that the Christians should have taken the trouble to demolish it and wall it up again twice annually, for a long period of years; the masons must have been constantly employed at the work. The Mussulmen are the parties who have walled it up, because there exists amongst them a tradition, rather generally spread, foretelling that, if ever the Christians succeed in expelling the Mussulmen from Jerusalem, it will be by the Golden Gate that they will enter the town. What may have given rise to this tradition, is most likely th fact that the Crusaders penetrated into the city in the clo vicinity of the Golden Gate, which appears to have be opened to the assailants, by the first of their warr who had succeeded in dislodging the defenders from eastern wall of the Temple.

Beyond the Golden Gate, if you go on in the dir which we have followed thus far, that is to sa

ceeding from north to south, you will find, at a distance of about fifteen yards from the right flank of the gate, a small postern two yards high by one yard and a half wide, at the utmost, and this postern is walled in. From the projection of the Golden Gate, to the right flank of this postern, the entire base of the enclosure-wall is of Solomonian construction, and the height of the postern is exactly determined by the united heights of two courses of these enormous blocks. As you proceed from the left flank of the postern, the Solomonian construction disappears for a time; but the material is still of a highly elaborated quality. We have here one of two things: either, as I believe, this portion of wall belongs to the period of Herod, or else it is a reconstruction of the time of Hadrian, or of the earlier Roman Empire. The lintel of this postern (walled in, as we have said) is formed of a single stone, offering a rather curious peculiarity: with a little attention, we can still recognise upon it a double Greek cross. This cross is painted of a red colour, and surrounded by a double green circle with a red tinge on the borders, and by a third exterior circle painted red, with surrounding notches. Lastly, about a foot to the left of the postern, you see a kind of square pillar, jutting out from the wall, and presenting a spherical cavity, pierced entirely through towards the foundation, with a circular hole, the use of which I am totally unable to divine. Was it intended as a passage for the voice, by which people, at night, were to make themselves known, so as to obtain admittance through the gate? This is possible; but I will not take upon myself to assert that it furnishes an answer: however that may

be, it is certain that this small gate is exactly the same as the one which is designated under the name of the Gate of Jehoshaphat, in the curious description of the Jerusalem of the Crusades, published by the Count Beugnot, as an appendix to his magnificent edition of the "Assizes of Jerusalem."

Exactly from the side of the postern which I have been now describing, begins, as I have already said, a line of wall, Herodian, or at least Roman, in its construction, extending about eighteen yards. At the extremity of this, a small square structure, four yards on each side, rests against the wall, protruding a little. It is a kind of pavilion covering some Mohammedan tombs. The front wall of this building juts out about two feet in advance of the exterior face, and extends over a length of one hundred and ninety-four yards. Its construction shows, here and there, fragments of Herodian, or Roman style and material, but almost everywhere a patched-up medley of Turkish additions. At this portion of the enclosure-wall may be seen, built into the masonry, various fragments of columns, sometimes of magnificent materials, standing out in relief. These columns, planted there by the Arabs or Turks, came most probably from the sumptuous buildings which, since the construction of the Temple of Solomon, have succeeded each other on the flat summit of Mount Moriah. One of these fragments of columns, fixed on the top of the enclosure-wall, towards the south-eastern angle, has received from the Mussulmen the name of Et-Tharik (the road). According to their notions, when the final day of judgment arrives, this stone is destined to be marked by a most

important event, for upon it their Prophet will step to descend upon earth.

At the end of the one hundred and ninety-four yards of modern wall, a line of primitive blocks appears again, but this is only nine yards long; then succeeds some vile modern patchwork eleven yards long: but from this spot, as far as the south-eastern angle, the Solomonian blocks are in their original situation, and some of them of enormous dimensions; for instance, one of these, which I measured, is seven yards and a half long by one yard high. From the spot where the Solomonian blocks appear again continuously to the south-east angle, the extent is sixty-eight yards.

Along this portion of the enclosure wall, I was fortunate enough to make a discovery, which is not without some interest; I must say a few words on this subject, the more readily, as I have not forgotten the importance which my deceased and learned friend, M. Schultz, seemed to attach to this newly revealed fact, when I had the pleasure of communicating it to him, the very day after I had become aware of its existence.

About twenty-five yards before it reaches the south-eastern angle of the enclosure, the wall retires inwards for a space of three yards and a half, and then juts out again to the same extent, along a surface six yards broad; then it goes in a second time for a space of a yard and a half in length, beyond which it resumes the general exterior plan of this portion of the eastern face; in other words, there is a projection of the wall of Solomon, six yards in extent, comprised between two recesses of unequal breadth. The inferior course of the

wall thus projecting, is, throughout three-quarters of its extent, buried in rubbish of every description heaped around the entire enclosure of the Harem, and forming a soil covered with grass, which from this spot has a very marked declivity in the direction of the south-eastern angle of the wall. The course immediately over this lower one, is formed of two large blocks, on the right of which has been added a small square block ; these blocks jut out a little more than a foot in advance of the side wall, and form a kind of huge torus, or gigantic round moulding. Over this second course is a third one, four feet and a half high, formed of two equal blocks, each three yards long, and both rounded or sloped off in a circular shape towards their lower part, so as to leave only an extreme length of two feet to the higher front intended to act as a joint. A single stone, half the thickness of the preceding ones, lies over both these wedges, and formed probably the sill of a window with a balcony, looking over that portion of the valley of Jehoshaphat, in the direction of the Fountain of Siloam, the village of Siloam, and the fine fruit-gardens filling the whole sweep of the lower grounds. A single block, five feet high by three broad, stands perpendicularly in the middle of the window-sill, which is six yards wide ; and to the right and left of this perpendicular block, are two openings, five feet and a half high by six feet and a half wide, walled up with stones of small dimensions, and consequently bearing no resemblance to the other portions of wall in the vicinity of the spot. And lastly, on a level with the floor of the balcony, to the left, there is in the wall another large

block having two distinct square pieces carefully fitted in, in a groove; one of these is in immediate contact with the left upright of the left-hand window, and with the floor of that window; the other is a few inches higher, and juts out a little to the outside. Without any doubt, these pieces have not been disposed in this manner without a purpose, and to me it is quite evident that they were intended to support and to maintain a balustrade, running in front of the balcony with the double window, which I have just been describing. Undoubtedly the existence of a window with a balcony coeval with the reign of Solomon, for I do not hesitate in assigning this antiquity to the portion of the enclosure wall in which this window has been perforated, is a fact which archæologists will be greatly astonished to find me setting forth without scruple. But if my memory does not mislead me, the palace of Karnac, a still more ancient structure than the one we are treating of, presents nearly an analogous construction. At all events, we have here an early example of the *voussoir*, or wedge-stone, with circular curved shoulder-piece, being used, at the properly called Hebraïc period.

As you proceed, turning the south-eastern angle, the enclosure wall extends in a straight line one hundred and forty-six yards and a half, up to the side wall of the garden belonging to the mosque of El-Aksa. The Solomonian construction appears immediately at the angle, and extending thirty-one yards further up to a walled-in ogival gate, two yards and a half in width. This gate is most probably of the period of the Crusades, but it presents no distinct tokens to enable

the observer to assign to it either a Christian or Mohammedan origin. Thirty yards to the left of this first gate, appear three large arches, apparently of Roman construction; semi-circular and walled in in the same manner as the ogival gate last-mentioned. The openings of this treble gate are each thirteen feet wide, and the piers are five feet thick; from the left or western flank of the last of these gates, the original courses of stones commence again, and these continue to show themselves without interruption up to the side wall of modern construction enclosing the Mosque of El-Aksa; which side wall intersects at right angles the primitive enclosure wall, at a distance of rather more than seventy yards from the gate with the three built up openings.

In the pier of the third opening on the left-hand side of this same treble gate, there appears in its original position a magnificent block, ornamented with mouldings, which up to this day has escaped notice, though, if I am not mistaken, it is of inestimable value. We have evidectly in this block a fragment of the original pier in its original place! but this fragment which is an integral portion of the wall of Solomon itself, is necessarily of the same construction. The sample of moulding which it presents belongs neither to the Byzantine, the Roman, nor the Greek style; we must therefore look back for some other, which can only be Jewish, and most probably that in use in the reign of Solomon.

I abstain from giving a detailed description of these mouldings, to spare the reader the trouble of trying to understand what might after all be a very incom-

prehensible series of figures and technical words. I rather refer him to the drawing, which I copied with the greatest care, of this precious fragment of Judaïc sculpture.

I have previously said, that the enclosure wall of the garden of El-Aksa intersects nearly in the middle, an ancient gate, half buried in the ground, of a strange architectural style, and covered over with an ornament of carved leaves, exactly similar to that of the Golden Gate. Evidently we have here before us, the remains of a very ancient gate, mortised into masonry of a much more recent period. All that is visible of this gate is an elliptical arch formed by a large cordon overspread with foliage, joined tangentially by a rectilinear frame, composed of two large bands, with foliage of the same kind divided by a string of ovolos. The upper rim of the frame-work forms a tangent, not to the exterior part of the arch ornamented with foliage, but to the inferior curve, a circumstance which is at any rate very extraordinary, and quite opposed to the rules laid down by Greek or Roman art. Immediately over the frame-work, comes first a course of very large blocks, surmounted by a line of wedges, the presence of which cannot be accounted for; over these again, is an elegant cornice, elaborately decorated, running above a line of modillions or brackets, and surmounted by a plain moulding. All the portion of this cornice on the right-hand side is now missing, which renders it impossible to calculate where it may have ended. The lower arch does not rest vertically upon any regular pier, though one exists formed of large blocks, placed each

over the other; but this pier is out of the perpendicular and thrown back inside the gate, so as to afford no kind of support to the interior part of the frame-work, which might be easily mistaken for the incomplete capital of a pilaster. In short, the style of this gate, most certainly a structure contemporaneous with the Golden Gate, is singular, and belongs to a system of architecture quite distant from classical principles. A grated window is pierced in the wall below the arch; I looked through this window, which certainly opens into the vaults below the Mosque of El-Aksa, but I was unable to distinguish any object from the total darkness.

Much has been already written on the probable age of this gate, which some have supposed to be Byzantine, and others Roman. In my opinion it belongs to neither of these periods. We know from Procopius, that Justinian erected the Church of Saint Mary, which has since become the mosque of El-Aksa. The gate we speak of is considerably below the ground-level of this church; and consequently has not the slightest connection with it. But the architects employed by Justinian, finding this venerable relic of the temple of Herod still standing, treated it with due respect, and included it in their plan and reconstruction, by wedging it into the solid stone-work they were laying down as a support for the floor or surface upon which their intended church was to stand. What much contributes to make me adopt this belief, is the presence in the building round the ancient gate of an inscription mortised into the wall topsy-turvy, which has been so placed designedly, and

as a symbol of the complete overthrow of the principles under which it had been originally dictated. This is the inscription :—

TITO AEL. HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG. PIO
P. P. PONTIF. AVGVR.
D. D.

"To Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the Father of his country, the High priest, the Augur, erected by order of the Decurions."

There can be no doubt that this inscription was formerly affixed to the base of a statue erected in honour of the emperor Antoninus Pius. Krafft inferred from its presence, that the ancient gate which we are examining, dated from the reign of Hadrian; but Williams has most justly rejected this whimsical conclusion, drawn from the presence of an inscription which is evidently out of its proper place, since it is turned upside down. He has adopted a totally different hypothesis, namely, that the gate in question dates from the time of Justinian. I have already said why I cannot admit this opinion more readily than the other. So far I agree with the learned Mr. Williams, that the inscription has been placed where it is, at the time when Justinian ordered the Church of the Virgin to be built; but beyond that I cannot go. There is no analogy whatever between the nature of the stone which has been used for the construction of the gate, and that of the stone bearing the inscription. What is more: one of the original wedges I have described before, has had a piece cut off to form a groove for the left side and the lower angle of the inscription. This is sufficient proof that it has been built into the

wall, since the existence of the ancient gate. Consequently, if this inscription was really placed there in the time of Justinian, the logical conclusion is that the lower gate is of a much earlier period. For this reason I do not hesitate to consider this arched opening, together with the Golden Gate, as relics of an entrance belonging to the enclosure of the temple that was rebuilt by Herod.

Now, is it possible to establish the origin of this valuable inscription; I believe it is, and I am going to make the attempt. Let us first observe that Krafft, who infers from the presence of the inscription that the gate dates from the reign of Hadrian, has not, according to the judicious remark of Mr. Williams, taken notice of this fact, that it is not Hadrian who is mentioned in this inscription, but Antoninus Pius; this prince having adopted for his surnames, through gratitude and affection, the names of Hadrian and Aelius, which did not properly belong to him. Krafft, moreover, might have had some reason to conclude (had the inscription been placed so as to be read easily), that the gate dated from the time of Antoninus. Williams has published this inscription, (which had been strangely mutilated by one of his predecessors, who had read in it ΠΟΛΗ for ΠΟΛΙΣ city), with some slight inaccuracies, which I think it my duty to point out to the learned author of the "Holy City." The text contains positively A E L instead of A I L; and the last line is composed of the two cyphers, D.D., (decurionum decreto) and not of the letters D D P P, which could only be read "Decuriones posuerunt;" a form of inscription quite contrary to the

usual lapidarian style, which requires "Ponendum curavit," or "curaverunt."

Let us return to the origin of the inscription. After the terrible issue of the rebellion of the Jews, incited by Bar-Koukeba, (באר-כוכבא), Jerusalem was transformed into a Roman colony by Hadrian, who gave it the name of Aelia-Capitolina. A pagan temple was established on the site of the temple of the Jews, and the Roman magistrates of the new colony erected, on the same spot, a statue in honour of the emperor. His successor, Antoninus Pius, received most probably the same compliment; what is certain, is that the "Pilgrim from Bordeaux," who visited the city of Jerusalem A.D. 333, expressly mentions in his description of the temple: Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Adriani, et est non longè de statuis lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt." This curious passage determines that the two imperial statues were placed at no great distance from the stone visited with such devotion by the Jews, which stone is no other than the rock still venerated in the present day by the followers of Mohammed, under the name of Es-Sakhrah, and now enclosed within the Mosque of Omar.

Were there really two statues of the same Hadrian to be seen in A.D. 333, on the sacred site of the temple? Most likely not. Why should two statues have been erected to the same emperor, on the same spot. I have no hesitation in believing that the second had been erected to Antoninus Pius, and the pilgrim in reading

the votive inscription bearing Tito Aelio Hadriano, just as Krafft has done after him, most likely neglected to read any further a dedication he could not but consider as offensive. My inference from all this is, that the inscription we are now discussing, is, in my opinion, the same that was affixed to the base of one of the two statues erected by the Decuriones of Aelia Capitolina, to Hadrian in the first instance, and at a later period to Antoninus Pius.

Let us now continue our inspection of the ancient inclosure of the temple. The outer wall of the garden of El-Aksa intersects, as I have said, perpendicularly, the grand enclosure wall: it juts out straight to the south, over an extent of nineteen yards and a half. There it goes off at right angles, to the westward, a distance of little more than seven yards; then it turns again southward, along a space of nine yards and ten inches; and finally, it makes a perpendicular elbow westward, of ten yards in extent. The four portions of wall which I have just been measuring, are in modern masonry, and probably of Turkish workmanship. At the spot we have now reached, the Solomonian wall appears again, and extends directly southward, over a length of sixty-one yards and a half. At the extremity of this branch, commences another much longer, of the same antiquity, and turned westward; this is one hundred and fifty yards and a half long. At the extremity, a modern square tower rests against the wall, measuring sixteen feet on each side, and projecting out fifteen feet in advance of the enclosure. In the left side of this tower is a postern, closed by an iron

gate; beyond that, all the portions of the remainder of the military enclosure of the city, as far as the Bab-el-Marharibeh (the western gate), are of Turkish construction.

The sacred enclosure which we have lost sight of since leaving the ancient gate situated below El-Aksa, must not be confounded with the two great branches of Solomonian wall we have just been reconnoitering, to the south of the hill upon which the temple was built; indeed, these are in fact but an integral part of the most ancient military enclosure, with which the capital of the kingdom of Judah was fortified. It must be remembered also, that I employ the expression, *Solomonian*, merely as an abbreviation, to mark the style of building, belonging, according to my ideas, to the dynasty of David; that is to say, anterior to the sack of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, and the destruction of the kingdom. The plan of the English engineers, published by Williams, does not include these two magnificent walls within the delineation of the primitive enclosure of Jerusalem; and this omission is certainly a mistake. The same error accompanies the plans of Dr. Schultz and Catherwood.

Whatever be the texts which it is possible to bring forward as guides, with the object of forming an approximate and correct plan of the enclosure which Josephus calls the primitive wall, it is absolutely necessary to include in this plan the two portions of Solomonian wall which I have already described. All the original blocks are in their original situations; not one has been displaced, and the courses

are in as perfect a state as if the whole had been recently constructed.

The narrative of Josephus is, without contradiction, the most important of these texts in reference to this subject. This is the substance of what he says with regard to the original enclosure:* "The first wall began at the tower called Hippicus, extended towards the Xystus, proceeded thence towards the Sanhedrim, and ended at the western porch of the temple. The other branch began at this same tower Hippicus, extended first in a direction facing the west, then, crossing the place called Bethso, proceeded towards the gate of the Essenians: then, again, facing southward, passed above the fountain of Siloäm; from thence it went off again in a direction facing the east, towards the Piscina of Solomon, and after extending as far as a place called Ophlas, ended at the eastern porch of the temple." It necessarily results, from this description, that the portion of wall now existing between the ancient gate, situated below El-Aksa, and the south-eastern angle of the present enclosure of the Haram-ech-Cherif, as well as the eastern face of this enclosure, was an integral part of the original wall described by Josephus.

Let us now examine if it is possible to make out the delineation of the second branch of the wall constructed by the kings of the dynasty of David. The tower called Hippicus, is unquestionably the same as the Tower of David of the present day, the construction of which cannot, by any means, be referred to a period

* Bel. Jud. V. iv. 2.

posterior to that of the kings of Judah, if not to the age of David himself, to whose name it is most likely justly entitled. The western branch, mentioned by Josephus, must have followed the present site of the Armenian convent, towards the southern extremity of which was the place called Bethso. The gate of the Essenians certainly could not open upon the steep cliff of Mount Zion, and it was most likely no other than the existing gate of Sion, Bab-en-Naby-Daoud, also called Bab-Sahioun. Does not this name of Sahioun retain something of the name given by Josephus (*την Εσσηνῶν πύλην*) ? Indeed, such is my belief, and it seems to me more natural to look for a corruption of the name *Εσσηνῶν* (Essenians) in the present name of the Bab-Sahioun gate, rather than for that of Sion, which might just as readily have been given to any of the other gates opened in the enclosure crowning Mount Zion.

The fountain of Siloäm has not altered its position, and the branch of the modern enclosure that faces the south, beginning from the Bab-Sahioun, is indeed directed so as to pass above the fountain of Siloäm. The original enclosure made a bend there, in order to pass by the Piscina of Solomon. What was this Piscina of Solomon ? Nobody knows. Just by the fountain of Siloäm there is a considerable cistern, which, in Schultz's plan, bears the name of Solomon's Pond, or the King's Pond ; but, judging from the text of Josephus, the fountain of Siloäm and the Piscina of Solomon are perfectly distinct from each other. We must therefore, of necessity, look elsewhere for Solomon's

Pond; but then, as there exists in communication with the cistern of Siloäm, by a subterraneous aqueduct, a fine spring, called the Spring of the Virgin, it is possible that this spring may be one of the two places mentioned by Josephus. Then, again, Schultz's plan mentions an old cistern situated north-westward of Siloäm, and, according to my notions, I should rather look to this for the Piscina of Solomon (Σολομῶνος Κολυμβηθρα). The original enclosure wall might very well pass by or above this piscina, and could only reach it by making a bend to the eastward, agreeably to the statement of Josephus.

Ophel was a kind of suburb placed, according to universal opinion, on the southern point of Mount Moriah. The plan of the wall from this spot has not been given by Josephus; but this wall by taking its direction towards an ancient gate—the site of which may now be occupied by the Bab-el-Morharibeh—would have joined with great precision the great salient angle situated south of El-Aksa; this salient angle touching Ophel whilst commanding it. From this last point, as I have already observed, the enclosure went along the southern and eastern faces of the Haram-ech-Cherif. Such is, everything considered, the plan I am willing to admit; formally rejecting that proposed by Schultz, which, in a military view, does not seem to me admissible: besides, this plan presents the serious difficulty of including Ophel, which the text of Josephus (καὶ διῆκον μέχρι Χώρου τινὸς ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλὰν) does not seem at all to place within the interior of the enclosure.

Let us return now to the actual enclosure of the

Temple. To fall in with it again, we must re-enter Jerusalem by the Bab-el-Morharibeh, proceed to the place where the huts of the lepers are established, and go down through the rows of cactus covering the eastern steep of Mount Zion, to the bottom of a small valley, likewise covered with cactus ; on the opposite declivity of which we find the south-western angle of the enclosure of the Temple. This angle is of Solomonian construction ; and, by looking over the boundary wall of the garden of El-Aksa, which is very low in this place, you may easily see that the southern face of the enclosure of the Temple is, as far as can be described, likewise of the same antique construction. Let us now turn to what we have then clearly before us of the western face of this venerable relic.

The angle itself is formed of primitive courses in a very good state of preservation, receding rather more than an inch and a half as they rise the one above the other. Here again, the stones are set in bossage, that is to say, each of them surrounded, as with a frame, by a milled border, about three inches broad. Some of these blocks attain incredible dimensions ; for instance, one of them is about nine yards long, by more than one yard high. It is impossible to guess to what depth it penetrates into the masonry.

Twelve yards to the rear of the south-western angle, you descry three ranges of magnificent copings, evidently belonging to the arch of a bridge which was formerly thrown across the little valley, at the bottom of which you are now standing, and which is, without any possible doubt, no other than the Tyropæon, or Valley

of the Cheesemongers. The breadth of this bridge is fifteen yards one foot and a half. One of the coping-stones is missing in the upper course, and its place is filled up with masonry in small compartments, forming the continuation of the wall against which the bridge is resting, both being of exactly the same description. All the portion of the wall, erected above what remains of the bridge, is therefore unquestionably modern. We shall examine by and by the dimensions, which may be easily calculated, of this fine Solomonian arch. To the left of the bridge, as you proceed in a northerly direction, the Solomonian construction appears throughout an extent of nearly twenty yards. Here, resting against the wall, is a small staircase, with a landing-place at the top, leading into the interior of the Haram-ech-Cherif. Beyond this some private houses appear, projecting forward, and resting against the primitive enclosure wall of the Temple; these commence the cluster of modern constructions concealing this enclosure as far as the Heith-el-Morharby, which I sufficiently described when I began my examination of the enclosure of the Haram.

The semicircular vault of the bridge rises from above a course of large Solomonian blocks, jutting out fifteen inches from the face of the wall. What remains of the *Intrados* (interior curve) of the vault is four yards in vertical height, to the joint where the spring of the arch commences. This same joint juts out four feet and a half from the exterior surface of the enclosure, whilst the lower part of the generating curve of the vault is nearly tangential to the wall.

Having determined the chord of the lower coping, and the chord of both the upper copings, taken together, nothing can be easier than to find the centre, the radius, and consequently the diameter of the vault. The radius of the circle is twenty-two feet, and the centre one foot and a half below the plane in which the joint is intersected by the lower edge of the vault. The generating arch is not then quite half a circumference, and the span of the bridge something less than sixteen yards two feet wide. Consequently the arrow of the vault was seven yards one foot and a half high above the plane whence the arch commenced. There is nothing excessive in this measurement, and with a flat surface only three feet thick, the road cleared by this bridge must have issued, without any slope, on the opposite eminence; which eminence, even with the buildings that now encumber it, is not more than five-and-twenty feet above the bottom of the Tyropæon.

I have no hesitation in saying, that though the dimensions are sufficiently imposing, and denote architectural knowledge of a very advanced kind, they have absolutely nothing in them to call into doubt the existence of a bridge, which consisted probably of two arches, and joined at this spot the platform of the Moriah upon which the Temple stood, to the hill of Zion. I consequently cannot admit the hypothesis of the learned Mr. Williams, who only sees in this ruined arch the unfinished spring of one of the vaults that still exist in the underground foundations of the mosque of El-Aksa. These last-named vaults are necessarily situated within the interior of the Haram; and that of

which we are treating takes its spring externally, whilst resting against the identical wall which was used as the enclosure ever since the days of Solomon and the kings of his dynasty.

Let us now enquire what this bridge was, and how it is mentioned in the writings of the historian of the Jews. As he has only given us a detailed description of the temple of Herod, neglecting to describe all the other monuments of the Holy City, and merely mentioning them in the course of his narrative when the action requires it, there is no reason to wonder that he has not given us a lengthened and minute account of the structure of a bridge which was perfectly well known to all those for whom he was writing. Josephus mentions several times the bridge uniting the hill of the Temple with the Xystus. The Xystus was a kind of *Forum*, or public place, where the people held their usual assemblies. To the north of the Xystus stood the palace of the Asmoneans.

I subjoin the different passages in the history of Josephus, where mention is made of the bridge uniting the Xystus with the Temple. During the siege of the town by Pompey, the partisans of Aristobulus took refuge in the Temple, having determined to defend themselves there to the last extremity; but before shutting themselves up in it they broke down the bridge uniting the Temple with the city. (Καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες).* The same fact is related again in another passage:† "These people got possession of the Temple, and broke the bridge that

* Bel. Jud. I. vii. 2. † Ant. Jud. XIV. iv. 3.

led from the Temple to the city." (Καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ· αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοψαν.) The same paragraph contains also the following passages: "For the portion of the Temple looking towards the city was inaccessible, now that they had broken the bridge communicating with the portion occupied by Pompeius." (Ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῆς γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε Πωμπήιος.)*

Under the reign of Nero, Gessius Florus having been appointed Procurator of Judæa, complaints were raised against his administration, which had become intolerable to the Jewish nation. On that occasion, Agrippa made a speech before the people, then assembled at the Xystus, with the object of advising the Jews to declare war against the Romans. The incident is thus related by Josephus:†—"The people having been convoked to the Xystus, Agrippa, after having first placed his sister, Bernice, in a spot conspicuous to the assembly, on the top of the palace of the Asmoneans, (this palace, commanding the Xystus, was situated at the extremity of the upper town, and a bridge united the Temple with the Xystus), expressed himself in the following words."

Further on,‡ we read again, concerning the siege by Titus:—"Titus stopped to the westward of the outward enclosure of the Temple. There were some gates opening upon the Xystus, and a bridge uniting the upper town with the Temple; this bridge was thus placed between the tyrants and Cæsar." (Καὶ γέφυρα

* Loc. cit. † Bel. Jud. II. xvi. 3.
‡ Bel. Jud. VI. vi. 2.

συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν αὕτη τότε μέση τῶν τύραννων ἦν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος.)

Further on again :*—" The troop of the auxiliaries, and all the remainder of the forces, were placed towards the Xystus, and all the way from that towards the bridge and to the Tower of Simon, a tower which this chief had caused to be built whilst he was waging war against John, to serve him as a place of arms." It must be remembered † that Simon was outside the Temple, and John with his partisans was inside. The defender, to have a better chance of resisting the enemy, constructed four elevated towers ; the first at the north-eastern angle of the enclosure of the Temple; the second commanding the Xystus ; the third at the other (that is to say, at the north-western) angle, commanding the lower town ; and lastly, the fourth, on the summit of the Pastophoria. ‡ It was then that Simon, to avoid being commanded from too great an elevation by the tower which John had most probably erected at the entrance of the bridge, constructed on his part towards the other extremity, the tower which Josephus calls the Tower of Simon.

I have brought together under one view the different passages in which mention is made of the bridge joining the Temple with the Xystus, and I find they all accord admirably with the position of the ruined arch, which the Rev. Dr. Robinson has the credit of having been the first to recognise as the

* Bel. Jud. VI. viii. 1. † Bel. Jud. IV. ix. 12.

‡ Ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν τῶν Παστοφορίων; this was certainly a portion of the Temple.

bridge alluded to by Josephus. In my opinion, this bridge is of the highest antiquity, and whatever may be the arguments brought forward by architects, I think myself quite justisfied in asserting that it dates actually from the period of the kings of Judah, and perhaps even from the time of Solomon himself.*

This opinion carries back to a very remote period the use of the vaulted arch, and is in opposition to the generally received idea (so received, because no proofs to the contrary had as yet been produced,) that the use of this vault was posterior, by many centuries, to the date assigned to it by the Solomonian bridge of Jerusalem. Once more, the theories conceived in the corner of a study have been proved erroneous. There is nothing in this that ought to surprise us. I will add besides, to spare time and trouble to such controversialists as may be tempted to oppose this undeniable architectural fact, that a magnificent vault, twelve yards high under the key-stone, has been discovered a few months since by my friend M. V. Place, in his marvellous researches amongst the ruins of Nineveh. It will be impossible to assign to this discovery a later period than at least six hundred and twenty-five years prior to the Christian æra, since the destruction of Nineveh dates from the year 625 B.C.

I was not able to ascertain the exact point where the Solomonian constructions of the enclosure of the Temple cease to appear beyond the Heit-el-Morharby; private dwelling-houses and the bazaar encumber the approaches, and render minute examination impracticable.

* 1 Kings, xi. 27.

All that remains to mention, before leaving the enclosure of Solomon's Temple, is a valuable passage of Josephus concerning this circuit in general. When treating of the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, he writes thus of the Temple itself: . . . . . ἱερὸν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον . . . . . (the temple very strongly protected by a stone enclosure.)* This is precisely the ancient enclosure of which I have pointed out such parts as have escaped the successive catastrophes by which Jerusalem was visited previous to the attack of Pompey. The reign of Herod the Great, and the reconstruction of the Temple are posterior to the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey; the strong enclosure alluded to in this passage of Josephus cannot then be considered as the work of Herod, and is unquestionably of a much earlier period.

All the steep acclivities at the foot of the eastern and western walls of the Harem are, at the present day, overspread by a thick crust of rubbish, in which fragments of every kind abound, with Jewish and Roman medals. Amongst these fragments appear, in great numbers, pieces of precious marbles, and large cubes of coarse mosaic, black, red, and white. These last are found in greater profusion at the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat and in the bed of the Kedron. The remnants of mosaic belonged unquestionably to Solomon's Temple, the porticoes of this temple having been without any doubt ornamented with this kind of pavement. I ascertained the fact in the following manner:—I had picked up, in presence of Mohammed,

* Ant. Jud. XIV. iv. 1.

many of these cubes, and when I had made him take sufficient notice of them, I sent him into the interior of the Haram-ech-Cherif, to see if he could find there some similar ones. In less than an hour after, he came back with a prodigious quantity of cubes of the same kind as those he had picked up on the hill of Moriah. It is impossible that they should have been brought there from another quarter, since they are not to be found anywhere else. They do not belong either to a mosaic of the time of Herod, and still less to a Roman mosaic; consequently, if we consider their abundance, we cannot do otherwise than refer them to Solomon's Temple. Amongst these fragments I also picked up a fine piece of rock-crystal, regularly notched, as if by the process of engraving with a wheel. This fragment belonged also in all probability to the Temple of Solomon.

TRACES OF THE ENCLOSURE OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

When describing the entrance of the Temple, I referred to the plan given by Josephus for the first wall, which was built most likely by the two first kings, David and Solomon.

With regard to the second enclosure, Josephus is unfortunately very brief. It began, says he, at the gate Djennath (the gate of the gardens), which was formed in the first wall, and including only the northern part of the city, extended as far as the Antonia tower. This second wall was probably the work of the kings Jotham, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, who all three endeavoured to increase the extent of their capital.

I cannot doubt that the present gate, called in our days Bab-el-Aamoud, or Bab-ach-Cham, is precisely on the site of one of the ancient gates perforated in the second enclosure. In fact we find, on the sides of this gate, quite modern in every other respect, and all along the basis of the whole construction, layers of Solomonian blocks, which most certainly have not been displaced from the primitive position assigned to them. The late M. Schultz was therefore quite correct, when he laid down in his plan the ancient wall as passing by the Damascus gate. I have found nowhere else, in the modern enclosure, any of these same Solomonian blocks, which may be safely used as land-marks by which to trace the wall which Josephus calls the second enclosure.

The third wall, or rather the one built by Agrippa, is so clearly laid down by Josephus, that it is not possible to mistake the outline. Schultz has given an admirable drawing of this outline in his fine map of Jerusalem. I therefore refer the reader to this map, which the inspection I myself made, on the ground, of the remains of the enclosure of Agrippa, has caused me to adopt throughout, without retaining the slightest doubt as to its accuracy, in all that concerns this third enclosure of Jerusalem.

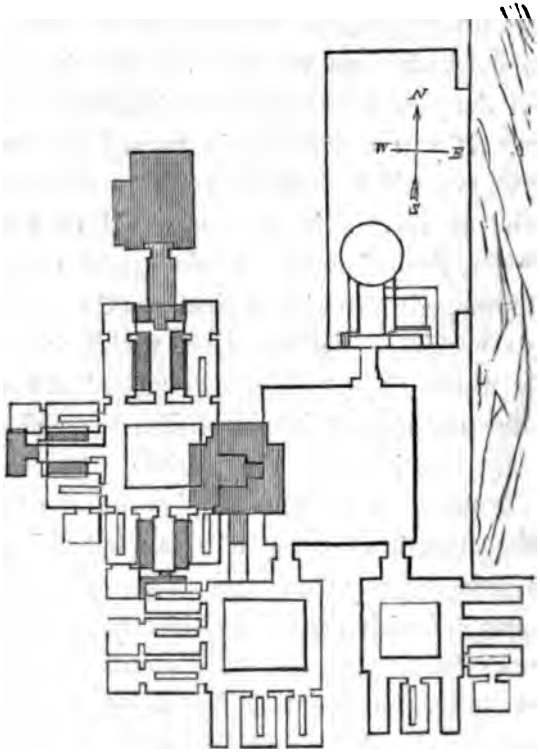
TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

If you leave Jerusalem by the Damascus gate and take the road to Naplouse, you reach, at a distance of about five hundred yards from the walls, a funeral monument of the greatest magnificence, and to which a

never varying tradition assigns the name of the *Tomb of the Kings* (Qbour-es-Selathin, or Qbour-el-Molouk). The name is still the same, whether you address yourself, for the purpose of inquiry to the Jews, Mohammedans, or Christians of the country. But is this denomination really correct? A very important subject to investigate. Before we examine the question, let us remark that no traveller who treads on Judaic land can deny or undervalue the importance of *oral tradition.* If you consult it, in regard to the Holy Scriptures, you will find in a very short time that you are bound to respect it, as you would an authentic volume; for, throughout the whole extent of country, every step you advance will convince you that the biblical traditions are imperishable. Here nothing alters connected with the Bible, nothing is changed, not even a name; the memory of human transactions alone has been lost. For instance, the terrible catastrophes of which Jerusalem was successively the theatre, are almost forgotten in the lapse of time; but if inquiry is made concerning any fact, even of secondary importance, connected with the original history of the Jewish nation, this fact seems of recent occurrence, so vivid and precise is the tradition by which it has been preserved and handed down from age to age. I hope to demonstrate, while discussing every particular connected with the monument known under the name of the *Tomb of the Kings*, that, in this particular instance, tradition is to be fully depended on, and that this is really the place where the kings of Judah were interred.

The vaults of the Qbour-el-Molouk, have been already

often described, but unfortunately with too much precipitation, and we might almost say, entirely in a cursory manner. This is the only reason why, up to the present hour, the origin of this splendid monument has never been satisfactorily admitted.



TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

An inclined plane running eastward and comprised between two walls of rock, ends against a vertical cliff, in which a vent is pierced, rudely hewn in the stone, and giving light to a kind of cistern, into which it is not possible to penetrate by this opening, but no other

entrance is to be found. What can this cistern be? I am unable to say; but I have the poor consolation of thinking that everybody is as ignorant as myself, and that digging trenches (unfortunately not practicable in this country) is the only means of ascertaining its original destination.

Through the wall on the left-hand side, towards the extremity of this area, a semi-circular gate is pierced, ornamented towards the exterior with a plain hollowed fillet. This gate is at present buried up to the spring of the vault, so that it is no easy undertaking to pass through it. It opens upon a large square court with vertical walls hewn out of the rock. An accident, which we shall have occasion to dwell upon by and by, has thrown down a considerable thickness of both wall and gate, which renders it impossible to ascertain whether the gate was more ornamented inside than outside. The floor of this court has become uneven, evidently from accumulations of rubbish, especially towards the western wall, where these fragments form a mound several feet high. In this back wall is hollowed out very skilfully a large porch, or vestibule, which was formerly supported by two columns formed in the rock itself, and by two pillars of the same piece with the wall. The two columns have been broken, and the only trace remaining of them is the upper part of the capital of the one on the right-hand, still hanging to the ceiling. Above the porch, on the face of the rock itself, runs a long frieze carved with exquisite taste and delicacy. The centre of the frieze is occupied by a bunch of grapes, an emblem of the promised land,

and the habitual type of the Asmonean coinage. To the right and left of this bunch are placed symmetrically a triple palm, carved with the greatest elegance, a crown, and triglyphs, alternating with pateras or round shields three times repeated.

Below this runs a rich garland of foliage and fruits, falling down at right angles on each side of the opening of the porch. The left-hand portion of this garland has been much more injured by time than that on the right. Above the line of the triglyphs, a fine cornice begins, formed of elegant mouldings, unfortunately much damaged, and rising up to the top of the rock, that is to say, nearly to the level of the surrounding country. The presence of a large fissure dividing obliquely the architrave and lintel of this porch, shows at first sight that an earthquake has damaged the monument and thrown down the two columns by which it was originally adorned.

As soon as you have alighted on the floor of the vestibule, you discover at the further end of the left-hand wall, a small very low doorway, through which it is only possible to pass by crawling. This is the entrance to the vaults.

This entrance, now free and open, was formerly concealed with great care, as the reader will judge by the following description of the rather intricate apparatus, intended to disguise the door. A stone discus of considerable thickness, running in a circular trench, rested exactly against the gap, and this heavy stone could not be moved, on the inclined plane produced by the stone groove, into which it was fixed,

excepting by means of a lever pressing from right to left, to open the door, and from left to right when it was intended to close it again. To execute this double movement it was necessary to reach the discus by a straight corridor, with the entrance usually closed by an enormous stone, the side jambs of which are still in good preservation. This corridor ended on one side, exactly at the entrance door, and on the other at a large well now nearly filled up with rubbish. It clearly appears from the plan that the moment the stone lid was taken out of the groove, in which it was retained, the corridor became accessible; as also by means of a lever resting its fulcrum on the very edge of the stone rail, to haul up the discus, which was then forced to move up towards the left of the doorway, along the inclined plane of the circular groove. But to enable the discus to go up, it was absolutely necessary to remove a second flag-stone, not so thick as the first, with its grooves parallel to the wall in which the doorway is opened. As soon as the closing discus was thus taken over to the left-hand side, and strongly wedged up, the passage was free.

To replace the discus in its original position, it was necessary to penetrate into a second corridor, hewn under the rock, and intersecting the first at right angles, almost directly against the brink of the well. This auxiliary corridor turned suddenly by a square elbow, towards the partition wall of the porch, and led in a parallel line with the first straight corridor, to a spot where the lever, when applied to the left-hand side of the discus, forced it to descend again, and resume

the position in which it was necessary it should remain to close up the opening.

All these arrangements, which appear until now to have escaped notice, are still quite untouched; only the two sliding flag-stones have disappeared, and the discus has not retained a strictly vertical position, proper care not having been taken in removing and wedging it. With these exceptions, the whole of this closing apparatus is exactly in the same state in which it was left by the consummate architect by whom it was originally conceived.

But we have still to mention the plan of closing up with regard to the interior.

In a large groove in the wall, a massive stone gate was hermetically fitted, with double hinges, constructed in the mass, and so arranged, that it was possible to set the gate easily in motion by a pressure from the outside; whilst the sockets were so contrived, that the gate, when left to itself, was sure to fall back again by its own weight into the groove in which, as I have already said, it was exactly fitted, and in such manner, that any person shut in behind would be totally unable to move it.*

After having passed this first gate, you find yourself in a square chamber, the walls of which are parallel to those of the porch, as is likewise the case with the walls of all the other apartments.

Three doors now present themselves, one of these pierced towards about the middle of the western face;

* This movement appears to have been constructed exactly on the principle of the modern self-acting hinge.—EDIT. NOTE.

the two others opening into the southern face; this hall serves as a kind of second vestibule, for no tomb is placed therein. Three small triangular niches, carefully cut into the western, southern, and eastern faces, have been contrived for the purpose of receiving sepulchral lamps, the traces of which are still perfectly visible; on the ceiling you can read the names of various travellers, and amongst these I observed, with great pleasure, the name of my learned fellow-member of the Institute, and friend, M. Leon Delaborde, with the date, 1827.

The door opening in the partition wall on the west, leads into a chamber of smaller dimensions, but square, like the first, the floor in the centre being on a lower level than at the threshold, so as to form a tolerably wide banquette all round.

Each of the three faces, not including the entrance one, is pierced by three openings, all semi-circular; but the two lateral doors on each side, which are only half the height of the central door, are also set round with a rectangular grooving, so that at first sight you suppose them to be square. The six lateral openings give access to the same number of tombs, and the three central doors lead into as many small compartments, constructed in the following manner. To the right and left they are provided with horizontal tiers or beds, surmounted by a semicircular arch; and at the further extremity of the room a similar bed is cut out of the rock, but with the semi-circular vault, forming the canopy, contrived in the breadth of the room, instead of its length. It is of course necessary to introduce the upper part of your body into it, to

judge of the extent of the vault, which is half concealed by the mass of rock.

Two of these chambers (the northern and the southern) are provided above each stone bed, with niches intended for sepulchral lamps, exactly similar to those of the entrance hall. They likewise bear evident traces of the lamps which burnt there in ancient times. These small niches for lamps are wanting in the western room.

With regard to the six tombs, they are of different forms, and generally constructed according to the following principle: you first enter a small room, the floor of which is deeply furrowed, close to the threshold, by a large groove, intended most likely to receive an embossment contrived below the trunk of the sarcophagus, so as to fix it solidly; the head of the sarcophagus when disposed in its proper place, necessarily concealed an opening giving access into a square recess, much too small ever to have been intended to receive a human body. We shall see presently that it is quite possible to explain the use of this little recess, which was necessarily concealed, as long as the tomb in front of it remained unviolated. One of the tombs (that which is placed at the left extremity of the northern face) has no groove inlaid in the ground. The left-hand tomb of the western face, instead of presenting the opening of the small recess behind the head of the sarcophagus, supposing the sarcophagus to be in its place, presents this opening on the left side, without the dimensions of the recess having been altered. And, as a last observation, the left-hand tomb of the southern face has no recess like the others.

In the sepulchral chamber which I am now about to describe were lying, utterly neglected, the two pieces of the fine lid of a sarcophagus (represented beneath) which are now deposited in the Louvre.

COVER-LID OF THE TOMB OF KING DAVID.

Below the bed at the further extremity of the room containing three beds, in the northern face, a small

opening is pierced, rather difficult to get through, leading by an inclined plain to a lower chamber, having on its western face a bed surmounted by a semi-circular arch, and on its northern face, two stories of shelves, disposed close to each other like the steps of a staircase. The inclined plane forming a corridor that leads into this room, ends by a steep projection, above a single high step, resting on the floor. It is evident, *à priori*, that the two stories of shelves have never been intended to receive sarcophagi, and that the only sarcophagus that can have been placed in this room must have been laid upon the bed at the further end, that is to say, in a parallel line with the face of the monument. Considering, besides, that this small chamber is excavated exactly in the axis of the vestibule, it is impossible not to admit that it had a very peculiar destination, and that the whole monument was, in some manner, subordinate to its superior importance.

To return to the description of the other rooms.

The door, pierced on the right-hand side, in the southern face of the vestibule, leads in a slightly oblique direction to another square room, of the same dimensions as the preceding one, furnished also with a wide banquette, and pierced for three tombs in each of its western and southern faces ; whilst a single opening, to the right of the entrance-door, leads by a staircase of six steps, continued by an inclined plane, to another under-chamber, provided on three of its faces with a banquette, surrounded by a semi-circular arch.

A single lid of a sarcophagus remains in this lower room, ornamented lengthwise with three roses,

carved on each side. Of the six tombs contained in the other two faces of the upper room, the first, or right hand one of the western face, has no recess. The two next are in every respect similar to the complete tomb which I have already described; the tomb on the right-hand side of the southern face has only been marked out, so that it can never have contained a sarcophagus; the two last also contain no recess, and are in every respect similar to the right-hand tomb of the western face. With regard to the eastern face, the architect who arranged the disposition of the monument knew that this face was in too close contact with the western face of the adjoining chamber for the intermediate thickness of the wall, or rather rock, to allow of tombs being placed there. The consequence is, that on both sides—that is to say, in both rooms—these partition walls have remained untouched.

The left-hand door of the southern face of the antechamber, leads into this last apartment. It has in common with the others, its banquette running round the walls, and only six tombs, three of them in the southern, and three in the eastern face. Of these six tombs, only two can have contained bodies, and these are the centre one of the southern face, and the right-hand one as you look towards the eastern face. All the others remain unfinished, merely planned out, exhibiting exactly the same dimensions as the similar one, already mentioned in the description of the adjoining chamber. Of the two tombs which have been occupied, the first has no recess, and the second is provided with one, but placed on its right-hand side.

Finally, the three upper sepulchral apartments, furnished with banquettes, were formerly closed by handsome stone doors, exactly similar to those I have described, when treating of the antechamber. The doors, violently broken, lie at present scattered in fragments, amongst the numerous ruins heaped about the floor; these ruins, soaking in the mud, represent unquestionably the flag-stones serving as lids to all these tombs, and the remains of the tombs themselves.

In these vaults the heat is most oppressive, and any lengthened continuance there is the more disagreeable, as from all the walls and ceilings a constant drizzle renders the work of the explorer extremely irksome. During the execution of the arduous task I had undertaken, I was assisted with indefatigable patience by my travelling companion, Edward Delessert, whom no obstacle could deter. Penetrating everywhere, by crawling on all fours through mud and water, he conveyed to me with the greatest exactness such measurements as my stature, somewhat too high, and less flexible in motion, owing to advancing years, rendered me unable to take for myself. Notwithstanding all difficulties, by dint of perseverance, and with the precaution of going out occasionally to breathe a little fresh air, we contrived to investigate these vaults even to their inmost corners. The examination excited in our minds the most perfect admiration of this magnificent structure, which can only have been accomplished at enormous expense, and for a royal dynasty, according to the received tradition.

Let us now proceed by exclusion, and we shall see

that if we allow, for the sake of argument, the presence in the Qbour-el-Molouk of any of the funereal monuments which must have existed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, we shall be driven, as an infallible alternative, to admit that this sepulchral cave is no other than the tomb of the kings of Judah.

In the first place, what series of royal monuments can we possibly look for in the Qbour-el-Molouk, except these tombs of the kings of Judah? Our selection is limited to the tombs of the Asmonean Princes, of Alexander Jannæus, of the Herods, and lastly to those of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and of Izates, her son. If we succeed in proving that the sepulchral vault we are considering, cannot be any one of these, we shall be obliged to fall back on the supposition that it is the tomb of the kings of Judah, provided of course, that we can also positively establish that there is nothing to impugn this decision, whilst, on the contrary, everything coheres to demonstrate its accuracy.

The question must be examined in order. *These vaults cannot be the tombs of the Asmonean kings.* We read in Josephus:—* "But Simon having sent trusty messengers to Basca, brought over the remains of his brother (Jonathan, who had been killed and interred, by orders of Trypho, in the land of Gilead). He commanded that the funeral honours, to which they were entitled, should be paid to them, in Modin, and all the people lamented the loss of Jonathan. Simon ordered a large monument of white polished stone, to be erected for his father and brothers; when it was raised

* Ant. Jud. XIII. vi. 7.

to such a height that it could be descried from a distance, he caused it to be surrounded with porticoes resting on monolithic columns of admirable workmanship. Against these porticoes, he raised seven pyramids, one for each of his immediate ancestors, and one for each of his brothers; these pyramids remarkable for their size and beauty, exist still in our own days."

This passage is sufficiently precise. Simon ordered the erection (and it is quite impossible to identify a tomb that has been *erected* with a tomb that has been *excavated*, λίθου λευκοῦ ἀνεξεσμένου,) of seven pyramids in Modin, one for each of his four brothers, John, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan, and three others for his father Matathias, his grandfather John, and his great grandfather Simon, son of Asmoneus.

With regard to Simon himself, to John Hyrcanus, to Aristobulus, and to Antigonus, his brother, we have no information as to their burying-places. Alexander Janneus, successor of Antigonus, having had a special tomb erected for himself, it becomes highly probable that each of these princes were deposited in a private and distinct sepulchre; and that consequently the royal sepulchral cave we are treating of cannot be assigned to them, especially if we consider the number of tombs that are enclosed in it; if such had not been the case, a *family* sepulchre would have held them all, and as a natural consequence, Alexander's monument would, most likely, have been made common to all. We shall see, a little further on, that this tomb of Alexander Janneus cannot in any way be mistaken for the *King's*

Tombs, and that a very precise text puts it entirely out of the question. Everything considered, there is then no reason to look, in the monument we are treating of, for the sepulchre of any Asmonean prince, since, if these persons possessed a family burying-place, it could not have been there, and evidently the cave the destination of which we have to determine, was a family vault.

With regard to Aristobulus, son of Alexander Janneus, he died from poison at Rome; but his body, preserved in honey, was forwarded to Judæa by Antony, "with the object," says Josephus, "that it should be buried in the royal sepulchres" * (vaults).

Let us observe that in this passage the expression made use of is not *family* sepulchres, but simply *royal* sepulchres. This expression might accord perfectly with the traditional name of the *Tombs of the Kings*; but the insurmountable difficulty of the site of Alexander's monument, as he, more certainly perhaps than any other of the Asmonean kings, must have been deposited in the royal tombs, necessarily forbids the surmise of any identity existing between the one monument and the other. Let us, then, set aside the Asmonean princes, in whose name it is not possible to lay claim to the *tombs of the kings*, the royal *vaults* mentioned by Josephus.

2. *These vaults cannot be the tomb of Alexander Janneus.* Some, however, have thought they could recognise in the Tombs of the Kings the monument of King Alexander Janneus, a monument especially

* Τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μνημείοις ἐνταφησόμενος; (Bel. Jud. I. ix. 1.) or, ἐν ταις βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐποίησε τιθῆναι. (Ant. Jud. XIV. vii. 4.)

mentioned by Josephus; but this error cannot be committed by any person who has examined the circuit of Jerusalem, with the determination of setting aside all preconceived opinions, and of seeking the elements of his conviction exclusively in a close inspection of the places on the spot, and in the study of the ancient authors.

We read in Josephus* with what energy the two Jewish parties, shut up in the city, repulsed the first attacks of Titus, already master of the enclosure built by Herod-Agrippa, and encamped under the very walls of the original circuit, at the spot called the Camp of the Assyrians. Titus occupied in that manner all the ground situated inside this wall (of Agrippa); which he had already forced and conquered, between the Qasr-Djaloud (or Goliah's fort), erected at no very ancient period on the site of the camp of the Assyrians, and the valley of the Kedron. In other terms, it was all the accessible part of the space before the city that Titus had already carried and was in possession of; on all the other faces, there was no more possibility of pitching a camp than of directing an attack. What then occurred when these attacks began against the second enclosure, at the foot of which the Romans had contrived to establish themselves? The Jews, under the orders of John, defended the place from the top of the tower Antonia, and of the northern porch of the Temple, and *in front of Alexander's monument*; whilst Simon lined the walls from the spot situated towards the sepulchre of the high priest John, up to

* Bel. Jud. V. vii. 3.

the gate by which water was conducted to the tower Hippicus.

Nothing can be more precise than these topographical details; the tower Hippicus is the tower of David; the aqueduct which brought water to it exists to this day; this water comes from the cistern called Birket-Mamillah, and the gate mentioned is unquestionably the Bab-el-Khalil, the gate leading to Jaffa, to Hebron, and to Bethlehem. Beyond that gate, to the southward and eastward, the valley of Hinnom, Gehenna of the Scriptures (Djehennam, or Valley of Hell, according to the Mussulmen), opens in such a manner as to allow no reasonable being to entertain the thought of attacking the walls of the fortress on that side. Then again, in the other direction, the monument of John, the high-priest, the site of which has not been determined, can be nothing else, in my opinion, than an isolated *sepulchral cave*, situated on the left of the road leading to Naplouse, as you go out by the Damascus gate, and much nearer the city than the Qbour-el-Molouk. The position of this cave is the more appropriate to the circumstances, that it accounts perfectly for the motives of Titus, in beginning his attack on the enclosure of Herod-Agrippa towards this spot. By so doing he was marching against a salient angle, and no military reader will suppose that he could have thought of doing otherwise. So from the salient angle now occupied by the Bab-ech-Cham, or Damascus gate, as far as the north-east angle of the Temple, that is to say, up to the Setty-Maryam gate as it is called by some, or St. Stephen's gate by others, the line was defended by

the soldiers under the command of John. What says Josephus? "Those who were with John fought from the top of the Antonia tower, from the northern portico of the Temple, and from before the monuments of King Alexander."* It is impossible to be more plain and explicit; the soldiers under the command of John fought from the top of the Antonia tower, and from the northern portico of the Temple, and from before the *monuments* of King Alexander. The consequence is, that these monuments were just before the wall. Besides, it appears that there were several monuments, since the word μνημείων is employed in the plural. We are then to conclude that about this same spot near the walls there were several monuments attributed to Alexander, and that these were the μνημεία βασιλίκα in which the Asmonean kings (with the exception of the first, already mentioned as having been buried in Modin) had been interred, but Alexander more sumptuously than the others. This conclusion is in perfect accordance with history, and accounts admirably for the use of so strange an expression as that of τῶν Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασίλέως μνημείων, or, of several tombs being assigned to only one prince.

Do these monuments still exist in the present day? Yes; they do exist, but in a deplorable state of decay. They are exactly identical (as my learned friend Dr. Schultz, Prussian consul in Jerusalem, was the first to discover, most judiciously) with the immense cave

* Οἱ μὲν περὶ τον Ιωάννην ἀπὸ τε τῆς Αντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Αλεξάνδρου του βασιλέως μνημείων μαχόμενοι. (Bel Jud. V. vii. 3.)

improperly called the Grotto of Jeremiah, which is guarded by a dervish.*

To resume our argument: we have established that the first of the Asmonean kings were buried in Modeïm, and the others at the gates of Jerusalem, in the now devastated cave called the Grotto of Jeremiah. The Asmoneans (Alexander Janneus included) are then positively and irrecoverably set aside, and they cannot in any way be supposed to have been buried in the Tombs of the Kings.

3. *These vaults cannot be the tombs of the family of Herod.* Let us now examine the question with regard to the dynasty of the Herods. Josephus tells us that the body of Herod the Great was carried in great pomp to Herodium, by the care of his son and successor, Archelaus.† The same fact is mentioned again in the *Jewish Antiquities*,‡ where we read: "They marched towards Herodium, eight stadia; for he was buried there, according to his own will." Herod the Great is therefore to be set aside, equally with the Asmonean princes.

* But then, some people will exclaim, Is there to be no grotto of Jeremiah? We say nothing of the kind. First of all it may have happened that the Asmoneans took advantage of this grotto already existing, to excavate there their family vault; and besides, if such was not the case, we should merely have to transfer the name of Jeremiah's grotto to a natural cave, situated close by the cave of the Asmoneans, but in a more commanding position; so that if tradition happens, this time again, to be correct, Jeremiah was much better placed to utter his lamentations from this elevated retreat, open to the view of all beholders, than if he had been shut up in a cave where it is necessary to penetrate to a certain depth, before you reach the spot where the holy prophet is said to have dwelt.

† Σταδίους δὲ ἐκομίσθη τὸ σῶμα διακοσίους εἰς Ἡρώδειον ὄπου. κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐτάφη (Bel. Jud. I. xxxiii. 9).

‡ Ἦσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρώδειον στάδια ὀκτώ, τῇδε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο αἱ ταφαὶ κελεύσματι τῷ αὐτοῦ (Ant. Jud. XVII. viii. 3).

The only monument of Herod alluded to by Josephus is mentioned in the History of the Jewish War. This occurs in the description of the lines of circumvallation, constructed by Titus. "Beginning from the camp of the Assyrians, where Titus had pitched his own camp, these lines extended below the new town, proceeded thence across the Kedron, to the Mount of Olives; then turning southward, they enclosed the mountain as far as the Peristereon (or tomb of the prophets), and the adjoining hill that commands the valley near Silöam. After having made a bend westward, they went down to the bottom of the valley of the fountain (the Bir-Eyoub); then, going up again close to the monument of the high-priest Ananus (one of the numerous tombs hewn out of the rock at the Hak-ed-damm), and going round the mountain upon which Pompey had pitched his camp, they came back north again; and after having crossed the hamlet known by the name of the House of the Peas (ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος), and included *the monument of Herod* (τὸ Ἡρώδου Μνημεῖόν), they joined again, by an elbow turning off at right angles towards the east, the camp of the Assyrians."*

It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this passage, which describes as clearly and with as much precision as can be desired, the plan of the lines of Titus, and determines consequently the position of the tomb of at least one Herod. The magnificent map of Jerusalem, published by Dr. Schultz, shows the plan of these lines, and places *Herod's tomb* south of, and quite close to, the pool of Mamillah. This allocation of

* Bel. Jud. V. xii. 2.

the sepulchral caves, situated on this point, seems to me unquestionable, and most happily conceived. The vaults are covered over by masses of rubbish, which are positive signs of the pre-existence of a very important monument, such as must have been the tomb of a Jewish king. Here, then, were placed the sepulchres of the princes of the Herodian dynasty, and they are not to be sought for in the *Tombs of the Kings.*

Let us observe, whilst we are on this subject, that these sepulchral caves are of very inferior workmanship, and that the interior casing only, which has entirely disappeared, can have given them an appearance of magnificence.

Such as they are in the present day, they are in point of workmanship very inferior to the commonest of the funeral caves of the Valley of Hinnom. Thus the family of Herod are also to be set aside, and were not buried in the *Tombs of the Kings.*

4. *These vaults cannot be the tomb of Queen Helena.* —There now remains, as a last object of inquiry, the *tomb of Queen Helena*, queen of Adiabene, buried with her son *Izates.* Most modern writers have fancied they recognised the sepulchre of this princess in the *Tombs of the Kings;* but this error arose from their not having sufficiently studied the meaning of the sacred and profane texts that speak of the tombs of the kings of Judah; and more especially to their not having dared to admit, a thing which is however certain, that many architectural ornaments have been borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœnicians, who had given them to the Jews, instead of having been copied

by the Jews from Grecian monuments, of which in all probability they had very little cognisance.

The funeral monument of Helena and her son is mentioned in five passages of the ancient writers. We shall proceed to enumerate them one after the other.

Josephus tells us: "Monobazus (king of Adiabene, son of Helena, and successor of Izates), having sent to Jerusalem the remains of his mother and of his brother, had them buried in the three pyramids which his mother had caused to be constructed, at the distance of three stadia from the walls of Jerusalem." *

From this first passage it appears that the tomb of Helena and her son was surmounted by three pyramids, and distant three stadia from Jerusalem.

In the Judaic War,† we read that Titus, on his arrival before Jerusalem, proceeded, at the head of six hundred horsemen, to reconnoitre the place which he purposed besieging; as long as he continued marching on the inclined road leading down to the walls, nobody appeared at the gates; but no sooner had he left the beaten road to draw near the tower Psephinus, exposing the flank of his column of cavalry, than the Jews, issuing from the place by the gate opposite to the tomb of Helena (διὰ τῆς αντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων πύλης), made a rush from the foot of the towers called "the towers of the Women," and fell upon the Roman cavalry.

This passage offers us but one piece of positive

* Ὁ δὲ Μονόβαζος τά τε ἐκείνης ὀστᾶ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, ἃς ἡ μήτηρ κατεσκεύακει, τρεῖς τον ἀριθμόν, τρία στάδια τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. (Ant. Jud. XX. iv. 3.)

† Bel. Jud. V. iii. 2.

information, and that is with regard to the tomb, or rather the monuments of Helena, being situated near the tower Psephinus.

In the remainder of the same passage we find that Titus was pursued by the people who had made this sally, up to, and even through, the walls enclosing in that direction some cultivated gardens. Now the tower Psephinus, the foundation of which has been determined by Dr. Schultz, is still quite close to the enclosure walls that occasioned so much trouble to Titus, and exposed him to such imminent danger during his retreat towards his camp.

We read again,* in the description of the three enclosures of Jerusalem, that the third wall began at the tower of Hippicus, was then directed northward as far as the tower Psephinus, and thence extending in front of the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and mother of king Izates, finally passed by the royal caves.

We are then to infer from this, that the monument of Helena was in the vicinity of the tower Psephinus, and was in front of that portion of the wall of Agrippa, which, beginning at the tower, went of in the direction of the royal caves.

Without being very precise, this passage will serve as a confirmation, when we endeavour to recognise the monument of the queen of Adiabene and her son.

The fourth passage which we have to examine is to be found in Pausanias: "There is to be seen in the country of the Hebrews, in Jerusalem, a city which the emperor Adrian has completely overthrown, the tomb

* Bel. Jud. V. iv. 2.

of a woman of the country called Helena; this tomb is of marble; a marble gate has also been fitted to it, and it opens once in every year, on the same day and at the same hour; it opens by the mere effect of the machinery, and after having remained some time open, it shuts again of itself. At any other time of the year it would be useless to attempt to open it; it would be much easier to break it in pieces." *

Does this strange story deserve belief? Has it been written *de visu?* I think these questions can only be answered in the negative. If Pausanias had taken his information on the spot, he would not have committed the preposterous error of calling Helena a *woman* of the country (*γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας*).

As to the clock-work machinery which opened on the same day and at the same hour once in every year, the stone gate of this tomb, I shall be permitted, I suppose, not to repose implicit confidence in this statement, for many reasons too long to enumerate here, and which are all based on the mathematical appreciation of an apparatus capable of such wonderful precision. What can we conclude after all from this curious passage? That Pausanias had heard of the tombs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and amongst them of the tomb of Helena; that not having recollected exactly, he had applied to this last what had

* Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πολει Ἱερολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἴδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς. Μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ ταφῳ τὴν θύραν ὁμοίως πανταχοῦ οὖσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον ἐσανοίγεσθαι, πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε ἁλί καὶ ὥραν τὸ ἔτος ἑπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν. Τό τε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου του μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεισα και ὀυ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα, συνεκλείσθη δι' ὀλίγης. Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοῖξαι πειράμενος, ἀνοιξαις μὲν οὐκ ἂν, κατάξειε δε αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος. (Arcad. L. viii. c. 16.)

been related to him concerning the wonderful construction of the *Tombs of the Kings*, and that he has transcribed, perhaps with some little embellishment of his own, the fable of this clock-work machinery. Everything considered, there is not much to be extracted from the legend of Pausanias.*

There remains finally, the fifth and last passage, taken from the works of St. Jerome, in his book entitled *Epitaphium Paulæ matris.* The author, in his narrative of the journey of Santa Paula to Jerusalem, mentions her entrance into that city. She comes from the direction of Jaffa (let this be well remembered), and following the high road, she enters the city after having passed to her left the mausoleum of Helena. These are the expressions he makes use of: "Why should I dwell any longer on this subject? Having passed to her left the mausoleum of Helena, queen of the Adiabenians, who had distributed a supply of wheat to the people when they were dying from starvation; she entered the city." †

Let us now sum up the information we have collected. The mausoleum of Helena, surmounted by three pyramids, was distant three stadia from Jerusalem, in the vicinity of the tower Psephinus, and in front of

* We shall have occasion to observe presently that this story, most probably, was not invented by Pausanias, but had been purposely promulgated by the Jewish monarchs themselves, to prevent any attempt that might be conceived, with the object of plundering the treasures that were buried in the secret recesses of the family vaults.—*Translator.*

† "Quid moror? Ad lævam, mausoleo Helenæ derelicto, quæ Adiabenorum regina in fame populum frumento juverat, ingressa est Ierosolymam, . . ." 108th Letter to the virgin called Eustochium, with this title: "Epitaphium Paulæ matris," in Migne's edition, t. i. p. 883.

one of the gates of the city; it lay north of the tower Hippicus, and a little more to the northward than the tower Psephinus; and lastly, it could not have been identical with the *royal sepulchres*.

With such information as this, it was difficult to make a mistake, unless by predetermination. Dr. Schultz, with his usual sagacity and his perfect knowledge of the ground, after having discovered the foundations of the tower Psephinus, had merely to go straight before him in the direction determined by the passages above quoted, to fall precisely at the appointed spot on the tomb of *Helena*. After him, I did the same, and positively ascertained that the indications laid down in his map are most correct. The tomb of Helena, with the bases of its three pyramids (this is enough to decide the question) still remains; and just by it there is a second sepulchral cave, with the entrance walled up, but it has been penetrated by breaking through the rock which formerly answered the purpose of a ceiling; so that when I visited the place, this second sepulchral cave had been transformed by the rains into a cistern. In the tomb of Helena—a tomb which, in other respects, is of such coarse workmanship as to present a striking contrast with the magnificent carvings of the *Tomb of the Kings*—there are only two niches or receptacles for coffins, and it is very possible that even one of these may have been merely the opening made by the profaners of the tomb, with the object of penetrating into it. The side of the rock in which the gate was constructed had been carved with some care; but all has been violently broken, and scarcely any distinguish-

able traces of the workmanship are left. Helena and her son Izates are then, in common with the other princes we have passed in review up to this moment, excluded from any claim to the possession of the *Tomb of the Kings.*

We cannot fail to be astonished that such writers as Chateaubriand and the Rev. Dr. Robinson should have identified the tomb of Helena with the Tomb of the Kings, when they ought to have given some consideration to the very precise passage in Josephus, where it is said that the wall of Herod-Agrippa passed before the tomb of Helena, and then by the royal caverns.*

After Josephus had made a positive distinction between these two monuments, it was the more imprudent to jumble them together, as in that case it would be extremely difficult to explain why Queen Helena, when she was preparing a funeral cave for her son and for herself, should have conceived the strange idea of ordering twenty tombs instead of two, eighteen more than were necessary; and to give some plausibility to their hypothesis, the two eminent writers who have suggested it, ought to have tried to explain away this difficulty, and the equally serious one of the distinction made by Josephus between the tomb of Helena and the royal caverns.

The ground is now clear before us with regard to all rival claims; but if I have demonstrated what the Qbour-el-Molouk are not, it now remains to show with

* Ἔπειτα καθῆχον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης Μνημείων καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον, κ. τ. λ. (Bel. Jud. V. iv. 2.)

equal certainty what they really are. I have stated that they were the tombs of the kings of Judah, and this is what I shall now endeavour to prove. Here I am hitherto almost alone in my opinion, and can no longer depend upon the assistance of so profound a scholar as Doctor Schultz; but still I hope to convert many to my own view.

My first object will be to select and bring together all the documents I am acquainted with bearing in any way on the matter in question, whether they are favourable or not to my cause; and when I have minutely discussed them — for the question is well worth taking such trouble—I think I shall be able to let others draw the conclusion for me, while resting tolerably secure that opinions will not be much divided, and that nearly every one will incline in my favour.

Let us begin by extracting from the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus, every passage bearing reference to the burial of the kings of Judah. We shall then compare the different passages with each other.

1. DAVID.

"So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David."*

"And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour; and Solomon his son reigned in his stead."†

Josephus tells us: "His son Solomon buried him in Jerusalem with great pomp, and in addition to all the

* 1 Kings, ii. 10. † 1 Chron, xxix. 28.

other honours which were usually paid to kings on the occasion of their funerals, he buried immense riches along with him. The enormous value of these riches may be conjectured from what I am about to relate. After an interval of thirteen years, the Pontiff Hyrcanus, besieged by Antiochus, surnamed Eusebès, son of Demetrius, and wanting to give him some money to induce him to raise the siege and to retire with his army, but being at a loss how to make up the sum required to that effect, opened one of the chambers of the tomb of David, and having taken out of it three thousand talents, gave part of this money to Antiochus, and thus, as I have already mentioned elsewhere, got rid of the besiegers. At a later period, after many years had again elapsed, King Herod having penetrated into another chamber, also carried off great riches ; but neither of them succeeded in reaching the sarcophagi of the kings, for they were placed under ground so artfully, that nothing of them appeared to the eyes of the people who penetrated into the monument."*

This same fact is related further on in the following manner :—

"Herod, who was accustomed to spend enormous sums both in his kingdom and out of his kingdom, having heard it mentioned that Hyrcanus, his predecessor, had opened the sepulchre of David, and taken out of it three thousand silver talents, though he had still left in the monument very great riches, by means of which he (Herod) might contrive to keep up his expenditure, had long since devised the scheme of

* Ant. Jud. VII. xv. 3.

following this example. Consequently, having got the sepulchre opened during the night, he penetrated into it with the most devoted of his friends, taking, at the same time, the greatest precautions to escape the notice of the people in the city. He did not find in it, as Hyrcanus had done before him, any coined money, but abundance of gold ornaments, and a large quantity of precious objects, which he carried off, without leaving anything behind him. After having made a close search, he wanted to penetrate still further, and to look even into the sarcophagi (θήκας), where the bodies of David and of Solomon were deposited. But he lost on this occasion two of his most faithful guards, who, it was said, perished, consumed by the flames that burst out upon them the moment they penetrated into the sarcophagi. Herod, terrified at this unexpected result, left the place, and to appease the anger of the Almighty, he erected before the gate of the sepulchre, a monument in white stone, the construction of which cost a large sum of money."*

Let us now compare the passages: — It appears then that David was buried with great pomp, in the city of David, according to the Book of Kings; in Jerusalem, according to Josephus; and as this last-named writer, when speaking of the nocturnal expedition of Herod the Great, adds that this prince took the greatest precautions to escape the notice of the people *in the city* (ἐν τῇ πόλει), we are almost led to infer from that, as a natural consequence, that the tomb of David was outside the city.

* Ant. Jud. XVI. vii. 1.

Besides this, another passage of Josephus proves even more clearly, that David's tomb was outside the walls of Jerusalem. Here follows the passage :—

"But instead of receiving a garrison in the city, they offered to give hostages and five hundred silver talents ; of these they paid down immediately three hundred, and they gave such hostages as King Antiochus chose to accept. In the number of these hostages was included the brother of Hyrcanus. This having been done, Antiochus raised the siege, and retired."*

What is the natural inference to be drawn from this fact? That Hyrcanus, shut up within the walls, had only three hundred silver talents at his disposal, and that it was necessary for him that the siege should be raised, to enable him to extract from the royal tombs, the money required to make up the promised sum. If the tomb he was compelled to violate had been on Mount Zion, would the king of the Jews have merely paid an instalment on the demand of the besiegers? Certainly not.

In conclusion, it appears certain, that the tomb contained immense riches, since they proved to be sufficient to satisfy the rapaciousness of two kings, both idolators. With regard to the fact that the sarcophagi were so well concealed, that on penetrating into the vaults not one was to be seen (if the tomb of the kings of Judah is the same monument as the Qbour-el-molouk) ; the statement is perfectly correct, for owing to the

* Ἀντ. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἀκούσας Ὑρκανὸς ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τε ἦν μὴ ἔχων ἐν τῷ ταμιείῳ χρήματα, πλὴν τριακοσίων ἀνοίξας τὸν τοῦ Δαβὶδ τάφον. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς. Ant. Jud. XIII. 7. 2.

consummate art with which all openings into the sepulchres were closed by stone gates not one of them was visible.

Would Josephus have used the expression *in Jerusalem*, if the sepulchral cave of David and of the kings of Judah had been on Mount Zion? I can scarcely believe it. What is the reason then that people have supposed that this sacred monument was on Mount Zion, that is to say, *inside the town, in direct violation of all the prescriptions of the Judaic law imposing a bill of seven days impurity upon any person who had accidentally touched a dead body, or even a tombstone?*

This is the reason. We read in 1 Chronicles xi. 5 and 7, "David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David . . . And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David."

The expression עיר דויד, City of David, is indeed one made use of by the sacred writer in v. 7, when describing מצדת ציון (v. 5). the castle of Zion, which he, nevertheless, calls a little further on בצר, merely the castle, and nothing more. The consequence is, that when speaking of the place where David was buried, בעיר דויד, the learned translator of the Bible, Cohen, in his note to v. 10, Chap. XI. of the First Book of Kings, says, "David was buried in Jerusalem, called עיר דויד the City of David, because it was the residence of his court and the (cradle) birth-place of his dynasty." He never dreams of mentioning in this sense the castle of Mount Zion. If the expression, *city of David*, was to be taken literally for the exclusive appellation of the *castle of*

Zion, the inference would then be that David had been buried in this castle? Nobody, I believe, can venture to propose this strange hypothesis, which would clash immediately with the two following facts: — King Jehoram, according to Chronicles,* was buried in *the city of David*, but not in *the sepulchres of the kings.*

The consequence would then be that there were two distinct and separate sepulchral caves in the fortress of Sion, and this fortress would be turned into an actual necropolis? This is scarcely admissible. But there is something besides: we read, concerning Amaziah, that he was buried with his ancestors *in the city of Judah*,† whilst in *Kings* it is said that he was buried in Jerusalem, "with his fathers, *in the city of David.*" ‡ We should have then to conclude that the *castle of Zion* was also called *the city of Judah.* And why should it have been so called? There was no reason for it. We must therefore come to this decision, that whatever be the designation employed by the sacred writer, the only thing meant, is to signify David's capital, the capital of the kingdom of Judah; in short, Jerusalem, and not the castle of Zion. And we must admit at the same time, that the distinct sepulchres of David and his race, and of Amaziah were not in Zion, but in Jerusalem; just as people are in the habit of saying that the burying-grounds of the Père-la-Chaise, of Mont-Parnasse, and of Montmartre, are in Paris.

* 2 Chron. xxi. 2.

† [illegible] 2 Chron. xxv. 28.

‡ [illegible] 2 Kings xiv. 20.

This question being disposed of, we find for the first personage buried in the royal vaults of the kings of Judah, the holy king David. It was especially for him that a sumptuous sepulchre was excavated by order of his son Solomon. To him, therefore, appertained, of course, the place of honour.

2. SOLOMON.

"And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David, his father." *

"And Solomon slept with his fathers; and he was buried in the city of David his father." †

"He was buried in Jerusalem." (Θάπτεται δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.) ‡

Solomon is therefore the second king who was buried in the royal vaults.

3. REHOBOAM.

"And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David." §

"And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David."

"He was buried in Jerusalem, in the *Tombs of the Kings.*" (Ἐτάφη δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων.) ‖

Rehoboam was also buried in the royal vaults.

* 1 Kings, xi. 43. † 2 Chron. ix. 31. ‡ Ant. Jud. VIII. vii. 8.
§ 1 Kings, xiv. 31. ‖ 2 Chron. xii. 16; Ant. Jud. VIII. x. 4.

4. ABIJAM.

"And Abijam slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David." *

"So Abijam slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city of David." †

"He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of his ancestors." (Και θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς προγονικαῖς.) ‡

Abijam was also buried in the royal vaults.

5. ASA.

"And Asa slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David, his father." §

"And Asa slept with his fathers; and they buried him in his own sepulchre, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecaries' art; and they made a very great burning for him." ‖

Josephus has not told us anything concerning the place of sepulture of Asa, whom he calls Asanes.

Asa was also buried in the royal vaults. The fourteenth verse of chap. xvi. of the Second Book of Chronicles, is a most precious document, since it informs us that the kings were in the custom of preparing their own tombs during their lifetime. With respect to the

* 1 Kings, xv. 8. † 2 Chron. xiv. 1. ‡ Ant. Jud. VIII. xi. 3.
§ 1 Kings, xv. 24. ‖ 2 Chron. xvi. 13, 14.

pyre alluded to in this passage, I transcribe Cohen's note: "*They made a very great burning for him.* Kim'hi surmises that this pyre was for the purpose of burning upon it various perfumes, and other objects he had been in the habit of using; I should rather suppose it to be the funeral pile still found in India. However this may be, it appears that our practices with regard to funerals were quite unknown in those days."

For my own part, I should find many objections to admitting that the system of burning dead bodies was a practice of the Hebrews; I therefore must prefer adopting the opinion of Kim'hi.

6. JEHOSHAPHAT.

"And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David, his father." *

"Now Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David." †

"Magnificent funeral rites were made for him in Jerusalem, because he had been the imitator of the actions of David. (Τἀφῆς δ' ἔτυχε μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ γαρ ἦν μιμητὴς τῶν Δαυίδου ἔργων.) ‡

Jehoshaphat was also buried in the royal sepulchres.

* 1 Kings xxii. 50. † 2 Chron. xxi. 1. ‡ Ant. Jud. IX. iii. 2.

I.—7. JEHORAM.

"And Jehoram slept with his fathers, and was buried along with his fathers, in the city of David." *

"He (Jehoram) departed without being desired. Howbeit they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings." †

Josephus adds to this information the following details:—

"What is more, the people insulted his dead body, saying, as I understand, that the man who had died smitten in this manner by divine wrath, was not fit to receive the honours usually paid to kings; they did not bury him in the sepulchres of his fathers; and without paying him any other honour, they laid him in the earth like unto any common individual." ‡

We have here an apparent contradiction.§ According to the Book of Kings, Jehoram was buried along with his fathers; according to the Chronicles, in confirmation of which follows the narrative of Josephus, this prince was buried in another place.

Could not the discrepancy be reconciled, by supposing that Jehoram was found unworthy of being deposited in the tomb which he had prepared for himself

* 2 Kings, viii. 24. † 2 Chron. xxi. 20.

‡ *Περιύβρισε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ λαός. Λολισάμενοι γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὸν οὕτως ἀποθανόντα κατὰ μῆνιν Θεοῦ μηδὲ κηδείας τῆς βασιλεῦσι πρεπούσης ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, οὔτε ταῖς πατρῴαις ἐνεκήδευσαν αὐτὸν θήκαις, οὔτε ἄλλης τιμῆς ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτην ἔθαψαν.* (Ant. Jud. IX. v. 3.)

§ Not exactly a contradiction. Both the books of Kings and Chronicles agree as to Jehoram having been buried in the city of David; and as to his ancestors having also been buried in the same city; but the Chronicles add, that the burial-place was not the same, whilst the Book of Kings says nothing on this particular point.—*Translator.*

during his lifetime, and which, in consequence, must have remained unoccupied in the royal sepulchres. I am much inclined to adopt this solution.

At all events, if Jehoram prepared a tomb for himself in the royal vault, he certainly was not deposited therein.

8. AHAZIAH.

"And he fled to Megiddo, and died there; and his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him *in his sepulchre*, with his fathers, in the city of David." *

The Chronicles do not say anything respecting the interment of Ahaziah.

Josephus tells us: "Ahaziah was carried to Jerusalem, and was buried there. (Κομισθεὶς δ' εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς τυγχάνει.) †

The verse here quoted from the Book of Kings seems to me to afford an additional proof of this fact, that the kings of Judah were in the habit of preparing their own tombs while they were yet alive: בקברתו, *in his own sepulchre*—such is positively the expression made use of in the text. We are then to infer that he had his tomb already prepared; for, most certainly, Queen Athaliah would not have made one for him; and in all probability he was deposited there without much pomp.

* 2 Kings, ix. 28. † Ant. Jud. IX. vi. 3.

II.—9. ATHALIAH.

The usurping queen Athaliah having been dragged out of the Temple and violently put to death, was certainly not deposited in the royal burying-place of the princes whose race she had attempted to exterminate.

10. THE HIGH PRIEST JEHOIADA.

"And they buried him in the city of David, among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God and toward his house." *

"He was buried in the royal sepulchres in Jerusalem. (Ἐτάφη δ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.) †

These two documents are conclusive to prove that the high priest Jehoiada was also buried in the royal sepulchres.

III.—11. JOASH.

"They buried him with his fathers, in the city of David." ‡

"They buried him in the city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchre of the kings." §

"And he was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his ancestors, because he had turned ungodly in his latter days. (Καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς θήκαις δὲ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τῶν προγόνων, ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος.) ‖

* 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. † Ant. Jud. IX. viii. 2. ‡ 2 Kings, xii. 21.
§ 2 Chron. xxv. 28. ‖ Ant. Jud. IX. viii. 4.

Here we have again a discrepancy between Book of Kings and the Chronicles, the last being c firmed by the narrative of Josephus. *

Probably this discrepancy may bear the same ex nation as that which we have already observed.

At any rate, it must be admitted that Joash was buried in the royal sepulchres, although his tomb h been prepared for him there during his lifetime.

12. AMAZIAH.

"He was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers, in t city of David." †

"And they buried him with his fathers, in the city Judah." ‡

"And having carried his body to Jerusalem, th gave him a royal burial." § (Καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντε Ἱεροσολυμα βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσαν.)

I need not dwell a second time upon the designati "city of Judah," here given to the place of inhumati of Amaziah, having already sufficiently discussed t question.‖

Amaziah was then also deposited in the ro sepulchres.

* The Book of Kings is merely silent concerning a particular menti by the Chronicles.—*Translator.*

† 2 Kings, xiv. 20. ‡ 2 Chron. xxv. 28. § Ant. Jud. IX. ix. 3

‖ It may also be observed, that in all these passages the burying-pl always mentioned as being in *Jerusalem*, never in the fortress of S —*Translator.*

IV.—13. AZARIAH, OR UZZIAH.

"So Azariah slept with his fathers, and they buried
m with his fathers, in the city of David." *
"So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and *they buried*
m with his fathers, in the field of the burial which
longed to the kings, for they said; he is a leper." †
"He was buried alone (by himself) in his gardens."
κηδεύθη δὲ μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κήποις.)‡

We have here three different versions;§ setting aside
e one of Josephus, we shall merely take into account
e two given by the Scriptures. That of Chronicles,
r reason that it is the most precise, ought in my
inion to be preferred. We must, therefore, admit
at Azariah was not buried in the royal sepulchres.

14. JOTHAM.

"And Jotham slept with his fathers, and was buried
th his fathers, in the city of David, his father." ‖
"And Jotham slept with his fathers, and they buried
m in the city of David." ¶

* 2 Kings, xv. 7. † 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.

‡ Ant. Jud. IX. x. 4. M. de Saulcy has not taken advantage of the
y decisive argument in favour of his own proposition, resulting from
s passage of the verse just quoted from the Chronicles: *they buried him*
h his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; coinciding
h this other passage: *he was buried by* himself in his gardens. These
sages being quite enough to establish: 1st, that the tombs of the kings
re not in the fortress of Sion; 2nd, that they were in the *open country*
side the walls of Jerusalem.—*Translator.*

§ The three versions are different, but they do not disagree. Only, as
ual, the Chronicles and Josephus are more explicit in some particulars than
Book of Kings.—*Translator.*

‖ 2 Kings, xv. 48. ¶ 2 Chron. xxvii. 9.

"And he was buried in the royal sepulchres." (Θάπτεται δ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις.)*

Jotham was also buried in the royal sepulchres.

V.—15. AHAZ.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David." †

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem, for they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel." ‡

Josephus does not say anything respecting his burial-place.

Which of the two versions is the correct one? § The question is not very easily decided, though the preciseness of the verse in Chronicles induces us to prefer the latter; however we cannot help remarking the unusual manner in which it is written: it says "they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel." The use of the word *Israel* is here very extraordinary: the kings of Israel were buried in Samaria, and there is at any rate a considerable discrepancy in the text of this verse. As to King Ahaz having been buried in the city of Jerusalem, it appears to me impossible to take this expression in the literal meaning; considering that, according to the Judaic law, nobody could be buried inside the walls.

* Ant. Jud. IX. xii. 1. † 2 Kings, xvi. 20. ‡ 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.

§ The verse in Chronicles is only more explicit.—*Translator.*

16. HEZEKIAH.

"And Hezekiah slept with his fathers."*

"And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David. And all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death." †

Josephus does not say anything respecting the burial of Hezekiah.

The verse from Chronicles is exceedingly important because it distinguishes, in a most special manner, the tomb of Hezekiah; establishing, at the same time, the honours that were paid to him by the whole of the people. In the expression made use of by the sacred writer קברי במעלה בני-דויד "in the chiefest (or most exalted) of the sepulchres of the sons of David;" does the word chiefest or most *exalted* mean *raised, high in height?* this is a point which it would be very important to determine. The word מעלה commonly means "a high place;" but cannot it equally mean *a deep place*, just as the Latin word *altus* is used in both significations? And, besides, when speaking of a sepulchral excavation, what can be the meaning of a מעלה "*higher* place," if not of one *deeper* than the others? I will not take upon myself to decide this point of grammar, which I leave to the discussion of more learned scholars than myself.‡

* 2 Kings xx. 21. † 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

‡ The tenour of the verse renders the meaning quite plain. Hezekiah was buried in a *high*, or an *exalted*, that is to say, in a *distinguished* place;

However that may be, Hezekiah was certainly deposited in the royal sepulchres.

VI.—17. MANASSEH.

"And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza."*

"So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own house." †

"And he was buried in his own gardens." (Καὶ θάπτεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὑτοῦ παραδείσοις.) ‡

All these concordant testimonies positively establish that Manasseh was buried *in his garden*, where, most likely, he had prepared a tomb for himself.

VII.—18. AMON.

"And he was buried in his sepulchre, in the garden of Uzza." §

The Chronicles merely mention Amon's violent death, without saying anything about his place of sepulchre.

"And they buried Amon along with his father." (Καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνθάπτουσι τὸν Ἄμωσον.) ‖

Manasseh and his son Amon, who had deserted the religion of their fathers, of course did not desire to be

a place *apart*, though *amongst* the sepulchres of the sons of David.—*Translator.*

* 2 Kings xxi. 18. † 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. ‡ Ant. Jud., X. iii. 2.
§ 2 Kings xxi. 26. ‖ Ant. Jud., X. iv. 1.

united with them after their death; accordingly they chose to be buried in their own garden.

19. JOSIAH.

"And his servants carried him in a chariot, dead, from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre."*

"He died and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers."†

"And he was buried magnificently in the *sepulchres* of his fathers." (Καὶ κηδεύεται ἐν ταῖς πατρῴαις θήκαις μεγαλοπρεπῶς.) ‡

Which of his *father's sepulchres* was he buried in? The tomb of David, or the tomb of Manasseh and Amon? This at first sight may appear doubtful. However, Josiah having completely abjured the conduct and apostasy of his two predecessors, most likely, notwithstanding the relationship, decreed that his remains should repose along with those of his ancestors, who had been faithful to the worship of the true God. §

VIII.—20. JEHOAHAZ.

"He reigned three months in Jerusalem. And the

* 2 Kings xxiii. 30. † 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. ‡ Ant. Jud., X. v. 1.

§ This point is doubtful only with regard to the text of Kings and Chronicles; but it ceases to be doubtful in Josephus, when he tells us that Josias was *buried magnificently in the sepulchres of his fathers*. First, we have here the plural "sepulchres" instead of the single "tomb" of Amon and Manasseh; and then their tomb in the garden of Uzziah has never been represented as magnificent. Besides, we have here again ταῖς θήκαις, a favourite expression of Josephus, when speaking of the royal tombs; which he has completely laid aside when speaking of the place of sepulture of Manasseh and Amon.—*Translator.*

King of Egypt put him down at Jerusalem, and took and carried him to Egypt." *

"And he came to Egypt, and died there." †

Consequently Jehoahaz was not deposited in the royal sepulchres.

IX.—21. JEHOIAKIM.

"Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon." ‡

The book of Kings mentions his death by saying "that he slept with his fathers." §

Josephus is more explicit, he tells us that "Nebuchadnezzar had Jehoiakim put to death; and that he commanded them to throw this prince's body outside the walls, leaving it without sepulchre." (Ὃν ἄταφον ἐκέλευσε ῥιφῆναι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν.) ‖

Consequently Jehoiakim was not deposited in the royal sepulchres.

X.—22. JEHOIACHIN.

"Jehoiachin was led away into captivity to Babylon." ¶

Jehoiachin was still living in Babylon, when Jerusalem was sacked by the Babylonians. He, therefore, was not deposited in the royal sepulchres.

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 34. † 2 Kings xxiii. 34; and Josephus, Ant. Jud. X. v. 2.
‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. § 2 Kings xxiv. 6. ‖ Ant. Jud., X. vii. 3.
¶ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10; 2 Kings xxiv. 15; Ant. Jud. X. vii. 1.

XI.—23. ZEDEKIAH.

Zedekiah, after having seen his children killed before him, had his eyes torn out, and was led away into captivity to Babylon.*

The Chronicles say nothing about him; and Josephus † mentions the circumstances in the same manner as the Book of Kings.

Evidently neither Jehoiachin nor Zedekiah can have beeen buried in the royal sepulchres.

Let us now recapitulate and see which of the kings of Judah were deposited in the burial-places of the kings.

	1. DAVID.	IV.	13. AZARIAH-UZZIAH (the leper).
	2. SOLOMON.		14. JOTHAM.
	3. REHOBOAM.	V.	15. AHAZ (a private tomb).
	4. ABIJAM.		16. HEZEKIAH.
	5. ASA.	VI.	17. MANASSEH (a private tomb).
	6. JEHOSHAPHAT.	VII.	18. AMON (a private tomb).
I.	7. JEHORAM (a private tomb).		19. JOSIAH.
	8. AHAZIAH.	VIII.	20. JEHOAHAZ.
II.	9. ATHALIAH.	IX.	21. JEHOIAKIM.
	10. JEHOIADA (the high priest).	X.	22. JEHOIACHIN.
III.	11. JOASH (a private tomb).	XI.	23. ZEDEKIAH.
	12. AMAZIAH.		

From this list, it appears that eleven kings and the high priest Jehoiada were deposited in the royal sepulchres, and that, amongst the kings whose bodies were not buried there, three of them, the seventh, the eleventh, and the thirteenth, are known to have had prepared for themselves during their lifetime, tombs

* 2 Kings, xxv. 7. † Ant. Jud., X. viii. 2.

which remained unoccupied; and, lastly, that eight kings cannot have been buried there at all.

It will no doubt be interesting to compare the number of tombs in the Qbour-el-Molouk, with the number of the three distinct series of kings which we have just pointed out.

Fifteen personages ordered their tombs to be prepared in the royal vaults, and out of this number three were not deposited therein. In the Qbour-el-Molouk, exactly *fifteen* tombs have been prepared to receive so many sarcophagi. We have here a very strange coincidence, if it is the result of mere chance. The plans of only five tombs have remained merely marked out, and as all the places that could be disposed of, according to the extent of the large sepulchral chambers, have been brought into use, whether in a finished or an unfinished state, the inference would be, if the identity we suppose really exists between the Qbour-el-Molouk and the sepulchral vaults of the kings of Judah, that the two last kings, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, had no opportunity of selecting places for themselves.

Of course it is clearly understood that queen Athaliah is not to be taken into account, and that she must be entirely passed over when we try to determine the order of inhumation of the kings in the Qbour-el-Molouk.

It will be observed that I am admitting the identity of the Qbour-el-Molouk with the tombs of the kings Judah, before having destroyed the objections which may be brought forward against the opinion which I am now endeavouring to establish. But I shall examine

these objections in their turn a little further on, and I hope to show that they are merely superficial and very easily refuted.

Let us return to the order of the inhumations.

As I have already said, the place of honour belongs to King David; consequently, it was certainly he who was buried in the small lower room containing only one sarcophagus, and situated precisely in the axis of the vestibule. On the two stone shelves, ranged one above the other, were most probably placed the treasures, plundered at a later period by Hyrcanus and by Herod the Great.

In the six tombs of the first chamber, the nearest to David's body, were buried: Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijam, Asa, and Jehoshaphat. The tomb of Jehoram was also prepared, but this king's body was not deposited therein. This is most likely the one that does not contain any secret recess laid out to receive the treasures and precious objects that were usually buried in the tombs of kings.

In the second chamber are six tombs, either complete or merely planned out, not including the entrance to the second lower room, where a sarcophagus is placed ornamented with roses.

We ought, therefore, to find here the places of Azahiah, of Jehoiada, of Joash, of Amaziah, of Azariah, and of Jotham.

If we begin by the middle tomb of the face at the further extremity, we have the burial-place of Azahiah, to the right is that of the high-priest Jehoiada, and this tomb has no recess. It could scarcely be otherwise,

since the personage to be buried there was a high-priest, having of course no treasures to be interred with him. The complete tomb on the left hand is that of Joash; as I have already stated, it had been prepared, but remained unoccupied.

Taking next the three tombs on the left-hand side, the one in the middle, which has been occupied, belongs to Amaziah; that which is placed under it, and is merely planned out, would have belonged to Uzziah, the leper king; but it remained unfinished for this reason, as we have explained before. Lastly, the lowest tomb which has been occupied, is that of Jotham.

But, what is the reason why the tombs of Amaziah and Jotham have no recesses prepared to conceal treasures and precious objects? The reason, I conceive to be this: Jehoash, King of Israel, after having obtained possession of Jerusalem, and after having made a prisoner of Amaziah, returned home to Samaria, "carrying away with him all the treasures of the temple and all the gold and silver he had found in the palace of Amaziah." * This prince (Amaziah) almost immediately after that, was compelled to fly to Lachish, where he perished by assassination. What treasures could have been buried with a king who had been plundered of everything by strangers, and who had not a friend left? None, of course: and, consequently, in his case, the absence of a hiding-place for treasure is perfectly well explained.

* Τούς τε τοῦ Θεοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀνείλετο, καὶ ὅσοι ἦν τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐξεφόρησε. (Josephus, Ant. Jud. IX. ix. 3.)

Let us pass on to Jotham. His reign was fortunate and prosperous. He imposed an annual tribute upon the Ammonites, so that he might have left treasures after him; but he must also have expended enormous sums in restoring and ornamenting as he did the Holy City and the Temple. History does not represent him as an economist, but quite the contrary.* The absence of a recess for treasure in his tomb can also be very naturally explained.

We now proceed to the third chamber, intending to return presently to the second room of the lower story. We have here six other tombs.

On the left-hand side, the middle tomb has been prepared, but it has no hiding-place. The tomb of Ahaz was prepared, but not used; and Ahaz, who had been compelled to pay enormous sums to the Assyrian King, Tiglath-pileser, thus exhausting the royal treasury and the treasure of the Temple, had no opportunity of leaving much behind to be buried with him in his tomb.

On either side of the tomb of Ahaz, is an unfurnished one. And still it would seem that Hezekiah ought to occupy one of these places. Fortunately the Bible comes here to our assistance. Hezekiah was buried with great pomp in a room apart, במעלה. And, therefore, to him I attribute without any hesitation the second lower room the entrance into which is by the staircase opening into the second sepulchral chamber we have just examined †

* See Josephus, Ant. Jud. IX. xi. 2.

† M. de Saulcy has not noticed the very natural and satisfactory explanation of the verse of 2 Chronicles (xxxii. 33), an explanation

What then are we to make of the two merely sketched-out tombs on the same side? That they are the abandoned places of Manasseh and Amon, who preferred being buried in the garden of Uzziah.

After these two kings, comes Josiah, who returned with great fervour to the worship of the true God, and was deposited in the royal sepulchres. The very next tomb is a complete one, containing a recess for treasure. Josephus accounts most satisfactorily for the presence of that hiding-place. We give his own expressions:

"Then Josiah, after having lived in peace, and after

resulting from the very situation of this room. The Chronicles state that "*They buried him* (Hezekiah) *in the chiefest* (or most elevated or exalted) *of the sepulchres of the sons of David*, and all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death." What higher compliment could they have paid to the tomb of Hezekiah than in placing it, the *only one among the sepulchres of the sons of David*, under the same special conditions and *on the same level* as had been marked out for the tomb of David alone? This room is not only at the upper end of the chamber, but stands with regard to this second chamber in the same exceptional position as David's room with regard to the first chamber. Placed here, the tomb of Hezekiah is not only in the place of honour with regard to this prince's inhumation in a chamber full of his ancestors, but he is also placed *higher up* than he is entitled to with regard to his relationship; though he ought to come, in the order of succession, after Ahaz, *in the third chamber*, they have placed him *in the second chamber*, above Jotham, and above Amaziah, and above even Jehoiada, so eminently virtuous and beloved, and above Azahiah. Indeed, a higher place could not possibly have been found for him; for if they had prepared a tomb for Hezekiah, in the *first chamber*, respect for the founders of the dynasty would have required that they should have given him an inferior place with regard to the tombs of David and Solomon. There he could not have held the place of honour. Thus, the verse of the Chronicles is admirably explained by M. de Saulcy's assignment of the second room for the Tomb of Hezekiah. Such is invariably the case with M. de Saulcy's explanations. The more they are sifted and examined, and tried by the touchstone of the Scriptures, the more genuine, true, and sterling, they are found to be. They carry with them a light of their own, showing the way, even to the most ignorant who happen to tread after him in the same path, towards fresh and startling discoveries.—*Translator.*

having surpassed in riches and glory all the other kings, died in the following manner." *

He then goes on to relate the unhappy end of this monarch.

After Josiah came Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, whose misfortunes are well known, and with whom ends the dynasty and the kingdom of Judah. It was then natural that after the tomb of Josiah, we should find only unfinished burial-places.

I now put the question to any unprejudiced person, is it possible that mere accident should have precisely mixed up these finished and unfinished tombs so as to agree exactly with the historical succession? Are not, on the contrary, these alterations immediately and easily explained, from the moment that the real arrangement of this celebrated monument is discovered? Let the reader answer for me.

Besides, the peculiar disposition of these tombs, with a secret recess prepared to receive treasure or precious objects, is positively not to be found any where else but here in the immense necropolis of Jerusalem, and this disposition presents an inexplicable peculiarity, if these recesses (store-rooms, or hiding-places) are not admitted to be evidences of the custom that was in use of burying the kings of Judah with their treasures. †

* Ζήσας δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ταῦτα Ιωσιάς, ἔτι δε καί πλούτῳ καὶ τῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐνδοξία, κατέστρεψε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν βίον. (Ant. Jud. X. ix. 5.)

† Here again the fact of these recesses having been used to store up the treasures buried along with the kings, seems to be confirmed by, and to account for, the very remarkable system of machinery employed to close up every entrance into these vaults. The difficulties and dangers purposely attending both the entrance and exit, the impossibility for people who had once got in of getting out again, unless each door was opened for them from

We read in Dion Cassius, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans :—"This disaster had been presaged to them by the fact that the monument of Solomon, for which they entertain great veneration, gave way and fell down of itself all of a sudden." * I must be allowed to find in this assertion another proof in favour of my hypothesis. The oscillations of an earthquake do not shake down a cave hewn in the solid mass of the rock ; that structure only can fall in, which has been built up and does not offer an equal resistance in every direction. Besides, for the Jews to find a fatal augury in the falling in of Solomon's tomb, they must have been in a position to see that disaster with their own eyes. †

Was it possible for them to know what might have fallen down in the interior of a cave, held as sacred, and into which they were never allowed to penetrate, according to the statement of Josephus ? I boldly answer that it was not possible. What are we then to infer from the passage quoted above ? That it was the outward and visible vestibule which was shaken down by an earthquake, and that this same earthquake likewise threw down the expiatory monument of Herod,

the outside, seem to exhibit so many precautions against intruders or plunderers ; and these could only be apprehended in the supposition that there was something to be plundered.—*Translator.*

* Roman History, vol. lxix. c. 14.

† In *the Acts of the Apostles* we read—"Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παῤῥησίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Δαβὶδ, ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ ἐτάφη, τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. Acts. ii. 29. St. Peter, and those who were listening to him were then perfectly acquainted with King David's tomb, which was still uninjured, at the moment of the preaching of the prince of the Apostles.

built by this Prince, after his profanation, before the entrance of the Tombs of the Kings. If we compare these facts, with the actual survey of the place, as it now is, we find: That the entablature of the vestibule is cracked throughout its whole height, and one of the two pieces has declined in an obvious manner. The two columns which supported it have been forcibly crushed down at the same moment, and this was likewise the case with the interior face of the wall, excavated from the rock, through which has been cut the gate leading into the large court-yard of the sepulchre. And lastly, the elevated mound, which is lying exactly in front of the vestibule, covers most likely the base of the expiatory monument, built by Herod, and destroyed by the same catastrophe.

The only objections which I think myself obliged to refute are the following :—

1st. The monument containing David and his dynasty was situated on mount Zion, and still exists there in high veneration amongst the Mahommedans.

2nd. The architectonic ornaments of the Qbour-el-Moulouk are formed of subjects borrowed from the Grecian architecture.

3rd. The Book of Nehemiah seems to place the tomb of David on Mount Zion ;

4th, and lastly, this tomb was accidentally opened, some centuries since, according to the narration of Benjamin of Tudela, and immediately closed again by order of the Rabbi of Jerusalem.

These are, I believe, all the objections that can be or have been made. Let us then examine them in order :—

It has been so long said that the tomb of David was on Mount Zion, that it has passed at last into common belief. But on what solid foundation is this opinion established? Do the Holy Scriptures tell us any such thing? No. Do we find it in Josephus? No. Then whence does it arise? I am completely at a loss to find out its origin. If there is no other reason to accept such a belief than the use of the words, דויד כעיר, *in the city of David,* in the different indications given to us by the sacred texts for the place of the interment of David and of his dynasty, that reason is a very poor one, as I have already proved, and am now going to prove again.

It would be enough for this purpose to quote some passages taken from the Scriptures, showing that the expression עיר דויד, has never had the exclusive meaning which has been attributed to it, by those who choose to take into account exclusive verses of the sacred text, whilst they are disposed to pass the spunge over others; a mode of proceeding advantageous enough in a general discussion, but which fails when they happen to meet with an opponent who will not content himself with approximate opinions, or without a fair comparison of contexts, when the question to be demonstrated is of an important character.

When I first published my idea, a very novel one, I confess, concerning the Qbour-el-Molouk, the most passionate denials immediately sprang up, and patents of ignorance were showered upon me with lavish generosity; the natural consequence has been that I have already had occasion to examine closely into the argu-

ments by which my opinion was so strenuously attacked. I shall therefore have now merely to repeat in this volume what I have already published separately, and at the same time return sincere thanks to my adversaries for the good service they have rendered me, in assisting powerfully the full establishment of the facts I had brought forward and asserted.

Here, then, are two passages proving that the designation, *city of David*, was not exclusively applied to the fortress situated on the top of Mount Zion. We read in Chronicles (2 xxxii., 5), "And he (Hezekiah) repaired Millo, in the city of David." Millo, which some people have asserted to be a hill, is a valley. Millo is unquestionably the Tyropæon ; the Tyropæon was then also called *the city of David.*

A little further on we read again :*—"After this he (Manasseh) built a wall *without the city of David*, on the west side of Gihon, *in the valley*, even to the entering in at the fish-gate, *and compassed about Ophel*, and raised it up a very great height." Evidently what is meant here by *the city of David* is not exclusively the fortress situated on the summit of Zion. Let us observe, whilst we are mentioning it, that this wall of Manasseh, is most probably no other than the magnificent wall, two immense fragments of which adjoin the garden of the mosque of El-Aksa.

The Judaïc customs raised an invincible objection against sepulchres being established in the interior of a city ; this cannot be questioned ; and a curious passage in Josephus, concerning the foundation of Tiberias, gives

* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

an additional confirmation.* When speaking of the population that Herod transplanted to the city which he had just founded, he says, "To determine them to inhabit this town, he had their houses built for them, and gave them lands, because he knew that it was contrary to the laws and customs of the Jews to inhabit a town under such circumstances; indeed, when building Tiberias, a number of sepulchres which happened to be lying on the same site, had been destroyed, and our law lays an injunction of seven days' impurity against any person dwelling in such a place." The inhabitants of Jerusalem would then have been impure for ever, and Solomon himself would have been in the same predicament. He whose duty it was to set the example of respect to divine and human laws, must be supposed to have violated them without hesitation, and all his successors were as unscrupulous as himself. The inhabitants of the place also must be supposed to have allowed these things to pass without comment or resistance. Such a supposition is perfectly impossible.

Do we not know, besides, that Solomon had directed his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh,† to reside outside the fortress of Zion, because that place being held sacred, was not to be profaned by the presence of any unholy thing? And the king, so scrupulous in this particular, must be supposed to have laid aside all his objections, when the point under consideration was a tomb and a dead body. I need not answer such an argument.

The palace that Solomon built for the queen was in

* Ant. Jud. XVIII. ii. 3. † 1 Kings, ix. 24, and 2 Chron. viii. 11.

Millo; the queen therefore went out from *the city of David* to inhabit Millo. But we find in the Chronicles, that Millo became afterwards an integral part of *the city of David*. It appears then that this denomination is not exclusively attached to the fortress on the top of Mount Zion.

I do not at all contest that this fortress was, more especially than any other place, called the city of David; but is this a reason why the name should not have been, by extension, applied to the capital of the kingdom of David taken as a whole? Certainly it is not.

Jerusalem has been called the city of David, as Nineveh has been called the city of Ninus, Rome the city of Romulus, and Aix-la-Chapelle the city of Charlemagne.

It has been argued that the presence of numerous tombs could not cause any impurity in the fortress of Zion. This argument is anything but proved:* and king Solomon—who obliged the queen, his wife, daughter of the powerful king of Egypt, to reside outside the enclosure of the fortress, because this enclosure was sacred and the presence of an idolatrous woman might chance to contaminate it—Solomon would have acted an ungracious part to treat the queen in this manner, if he had at the same time determined to establish a burial-place for ever, even though it was to contain the sepulchre of his father, within the enclosure where the Ark of the temple had been deposited. We read† "And

* Indeed it has been proved to be unsound by the passage previously quoted from Josephus concerning Tiberias.—*Translator.*

† 2 Chron. viii. 11.

Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David, unto the house that he had built for her; for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the Lord hath come." The word made use of by the sacred writer is העלה, which means literally *cause to go up.* Are we to infer from this, that on leaving the summit of Mount Zion, the queen had to go up some height to proceed to her new dwelling? No, certainly. I believe on the contrary, that necessarily she must have descended. I beg leave to observe that the radical of this word is the same as that of the word מעלה, concerning the signification of which I consequently maintain my opinion with complete security, and which I still consider as meaning a deep place, in the verse referring to the tomb of king Hezekiah.*

Some arguers will pretend that the tomb of David really exists in the mosque of *Naby-Daoud,* held in such veneration by the followers of Mohammed that they do not allow either Christians or Jews to enter it. Let us examine this pretension. The mosque of *Naby-Daoud* passes indeed amongst Mussulmen as containing the tomb of the religious monarch. But, what is that mosque in reality? The Christian church that was built on the site of the house where our Saviour's last holy supper took place. In the cave where the Mussulmen pretend to place their fictitious tomb of

* In two of our notes referring to this same verse, we have already explained that, although perfectly agreeing with M. de Saulcy with regard to the site of the tomb of Hezekiah, we are still of opinion that the literal translation, *a high place,* in the metaphorical meaning of an exalted, a distinguished place, is to be maintained for this passage.—*Translator.*

King David, the paschal lamb was prepared; and the learned Quaresmius, in his invaluable book, certifies that the Christian monks, who were expelled this church, when it was transformed into a mosque, had never dreamt of finding there anything bearing the slightest resemblance to the sepulchral caves of the kings of Judah. Some people will then ask, how does it happen that the Mussulmen have invented this legend that the mosque of *Naby-Daoud* contains the sepulchre of King David? Most probably they have done so with the same substantial reasons that have determined them to place the tomb of Moses at Naby-Mousa, at a distance of only a few hours' journey from Jerusalem, whilst it is perfectly certain that Moses died on the further side of the Jordan, and that he was buried in a valley belonging to the land of Moab.

When carefully examined, the opinion that would place David's tomb at the Naby-Daoud, cannot be maintained for a moment, and falls to the ground of itself. Indeed, as the only means of obtaining some credit for their pious fiction, the Mussulmen, under pretence of some unnamed, terrible disaster, threatening whoever might penetrate into the cave, where they assert that David reposes, allow no one to enter it; those of their own creed forming no exceptions.

I shall not dwell any longer upon this first objection, and I leave it to rest upon its internal value. Let us now pass on to the second.*

* A verse of Scripture seems to have escaped M. de Saulcy's notice, which contains a decisive argument in favour of his own proposition. Con-

It is perfectly true that the carved frieze on the face of the rock, in which the vestibule of the Qbour-el-Molouk has been excavated, presents triglyphs and pateras; besides, the mouldings overspreading the cornice throughout, really possess the elegance of Grecian mouldings. But who is to prove that the Doric and Ionic orders are of Grecian invention? I have no hesitation in saying, since the objections are numerous, that whoever should attempt to prove this, would run great risk of falling into an important mistake. For myself, I am convinced—and I hope soon to bring over many architects to my opinion—that the Ionic capital came down from the Phœnicians to the Hebrews, and at a much later period to the Greeks. I have found this capital in Phœnicia and in the land of Moab, in a locality certainly much more ancient than the Greek cities; and, to a certainty, the Moabites had not had much intercourse with the Greeks, when they were erecting those strange cities, of unsquared blocks of lava, forming real Cyclopean walls. I shall add but one word more on this subject. The monument of Khorsabad is anterior to the fine Ionic architecture of the Greeks. Open M. Botta's book, and you will find, in plate 114, a small edifice ornamented with two columns having Ionic capitals surmounted by antefixes, represented on an Assyrian bas-relief, found in the palace of Khorsabad.

cerning the burial of Uzziah, the leper king, we find (in 2 Chron. xxvi. 23) the following passage: "they buried him with his fathers *in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings;* for they said, he is a leper." Thus the tombs were in *a field*, in the open country, and not in a fortress on the top of a mountain.—*Translator.*

On another bas-relief (plate 141) may be seen the sack of a Temple, with the pretended pateras of our frieze of the Qbour-el-Molouk, and there these pateras may be easily recognised as shields appended against the walls. As to the triglyphs, here is a document containing powerful arguments against the opinion that they are of Grecian origin. I transcribe at full length, a very important note, for which I am indebted to the friendship of M. Prisse d'Avennes :—

"The Greeks have no more right to claim the honour of the invention of triglyphs than of the Doric column. The Egyptian monuments present all the elements of this order of architecture, used long before the Greeks had ever thought of raising their structures; for instance, in the Hypogea of Beni-Hasan, going back to the period of the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty, or at the least, about 3000 years before our Saviour, there are to be seen fluted columns, of the style called by Champollion, *Protodoric*, and entablatures ornamented with coronas and mutules. In the subterranean vaulted cellars of Koum-el-Ahmar, dating from the sixth dynasty, as is also proved by the cartouches of Papi and Teti there engraved upon them, pillars may be distinguished with lotus flowers supporting an architrave bearing various kinds of triglyphs. This characteristic ornament exists also on several ediculi, painted or sculptured in periods anterior to the first Grecian monuments. I have brought together numerous examples of the kind in my 'History of Art amongst the Ancient Egyptians,' a work completely finished long since, but which I

cannot afford to publish without the assistance of government.

"At Karnac, on columns formed of stalks and buds of lotus, there are to be found carved ornaments of the character of the triglyphs. These columns belong to the reign of Thoutmis III., of the eighteenth dynasty. Lastly, all the Egyptian cornices are decorated with true triglyphs, either bicolor or tricolor, alternating with religious cartouches, or with cartouches of the king, founder of the monument. I have also to add, that on the ceilings of all the Hypogea, are to be seen ornaments formed of mazes or labyrinths, of the style likewise called Grecian, because this ornament was supposed to be peculiar to the Greeks. I shall not carry on this parallel, which might be extended to all the most characteristic parts of the Grecian architecture.

"The Egyptian architecture was modelled from the first buildings that were made of wood, and not from the habitations of the Troglodytes, or rather, from grottoes or *Speos*, as MM. Huyau and Gau, and more recently M. Raoul-Rochette, have too hastily asserted. This is a fact demonstrated by an accurate study of the Egyptian monuments. As you examine them, you recognise, in the disposition of the columns, architraves, mutules, cornices, &c. &c., incontestible proofs of this origin. The gates of the Hypogea are sometimes decorated with semi-cylindrical lintels, representing the half-squared trunk of a tree; the ceilings are often ornamented with beams and rafters, painted so as to imitate the colour, and even all the peculiarities of the wood—a system of ornament proving in a most

incontrovertible manner the primitive type of the Egyptian architecture. But it soon disdained these ephemeral constructions, and began to employ materials which were both more lasting, and more appropriate to its wants. Even now, we may study, in the monuments scattered along the valley of the Nile, the history of the successive improvements that took place in architectonic science. You first meet with the rectilinear forms, originating with the timber-work, and transmitted to the stone; then art, advancing to the imitation of nature, began introducing, towards the period of the twelfth dynasty, vegetable forms in the pillars, the columns, and in the whole plan of decoration; and lastly, towards the period of the eighteenth dynasty, the human figure is everywhere allied to the geometrical and vegetable forms, and thus produces the perfection of architecture.

"Art, in a nation, takes its rise under the influence of many favouring circumstances, which every nation does not possess at once or in the same degree. The consequence is, that there is generally in architecture an hereditary transmission of ideas, of methods, and of style, handed down by nations already mature in civilisation to others who are only in their rudiments. In Greece the earliest traditions show that all their technical and artistical systems were derived from Phœnicia and from Egypt. Everything with the Greeks, and more especially with the Athenians, exhibits the character and style of a borrowed art. History tells us that wandering associations of artists, and professors in carving stone, had brought into the

Hellenic country all the useful arts; customs and models were derived from foreign lands, and most probably from the banks of the Nile. The principal monument erected by Dædalus was a labyrinth copied from one existing in Egypt. Were we not to believe that the Greeks have adopted in their Doric columns, and in their triglyphs, forms already used in Egypt, we should then have to admit that they invented the same configurations from the same models, that is, from wooden buildings, the original architecture of all nations. But this is not admissible, because primitive constructions in wood-work differ so completely everywhere, that this want of unanimity in the origin must necessarily lead to very opposite results and improvements. And it is precisely this first origin, lost in the shadows of primordial ages, anterior to the history and progress of architecture, which seems to me to be eminently Egyptian in its character. Altered by local wants, improved by new conceptions, and by the taste peculiar to a different country, these borrowed elements have in their turn produced marvellous creations.

"With regard to the Hebrews, brought up in the midst of the monuments of Egypt, they were not compelled to travel laboriously through all the different degrees of improvement in art; as a matter of course, if they did not immediately rise to the same proficiency which their masters had attained at that period, they must at any rate have adopted their architectonic forms, whilst trying to create a national art for themselves. Notwithstanding what is mentioned in the Bible of the workmen sent by Hiram, the Phœnicians, who have not

left any monument of unquestionable originality, do not seem to me to have been the only teachers of the Hebrews. Solomon, married to the daughter of a king of Egypt, had also no doubt procured some artists from that country. Besides, the Egyptian civilisation had then spread so extensively throughout the ancient world, that their system of architecture, and the traces of their genius are to be met with everywhere, in Judæa as well as in Phœnicia; in Nineveh as well as in Persepolis. Egypt, that teeming land, producing ideas enough to nurse for centuries the ancient civilisation of the whole world, successively procreated architectural art amongst the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, the Assyrians, and the Greeks."

After all, what are the other ornaments of this frieze? Some crowns, palms, foliage and fruit. Let us take the trouble of reading in the Bible the description of the sumptuous structures built by Solomon, with the assistance of the artists whom he had induced to come from Phœnicia, and we shall then be surprised to find that the ornaments of the Qbour-el-Molouk are precisely identical with those mentioned by the sacred writers, as having been employed in the embellishments of the temple and palace.

It has been objected to my argument that the pious King David, if we are to consider the simplicity of his manners, could never have built, during his lifetime, a tomb for himself; and it has been also said that the king who gave a mere tent as a covering to the Ark of the holy alliance, would never have given a thought to his own mortal remains. With these remarks I perfectly

agree, but then I infer from them that it was Solomon who directed the excavation of his father's tomb: and indeed, what do we read in Josephus: "His son Solomon had him magnificently buried in Jerusalem." (Ἔθαψε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Σολομὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπρεπῶς.*) Then what reason is there to be astonished that this funeral monument should have been marked with the splendour which the Phœnician artists, summoned for that very purpose by Solomon, spread over all the admirable constructions which, under his reign, ranked high amongst the wonders of the world? Before his death, David said to his son Solomon: "Moreover there are workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and workers of stone and timber, and all manner of cunning men for every manner of work." † It appears therefore that proficient artists were not wanting in Jerusalem, even in the days of David.

We read again: "11. Then David gave to Solomon ‡ his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlors thereof, and of the place of the mercy-seat. 12. And the pattern of all that he had by the Spirit, of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things. 13. Also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the Lord," &c. &c. &c.

* Ant. Jud. VII. xv. 3.

† 1 Chron. xxii. 15.

‡ 1 Chron. xxviii. 11—13.

From this it appears also that there were in Jerusalem, in David's life-time, a number of artists capable of drawing plans, and of constructing models of such houses as were to be built. What are we to infer from this? That under the reign of the holy king it was already possible to design and to execute great architectural undertakings.

When, at a later period, Solomon wrote to Huram, king of Tyre, to ask him for his assistance in the construction of the Temple, he said in his letter:* "Send me now therefore a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide."

King Huram replies to him:

"13. And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding of Huram my father's, 14. The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan; and his father was a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put to him, with thy cunning men and with the cunning men of my lord David, thy father."†

All these passages are very valuable. Solomon wants a man capable of directing the execution of the ornaments which he designs for the temple of the Lord. He knows that such a man is to be found in Phœnicia; he asks king Huram to procure one for him, and this

* 2 Chron. ii. 7. † 2 Chron. ii. 13, 14.

monarch complies immediately. Can this artist have designed and executed by himself alone all the splendours of the Temple and palace? Certainly not; he has therefore created a school in Jerusalem, and this school has necessarily followed the methods which were taught in it by its Tyrian founder.

To excavate in the solid rock a tomb worthy of his father, Solomon needed no other artists than those which were already in Jerusalem; to adorn it in a suitable manner, he may have employed either the Tyrian artist himself or some of his scholars; and these scholars necessarily used the peculiarly Phœnician style of ornament which their skilful master had taught them.

It has been also objected that the tales of the spoliations practised successively by Hyrcanus and Herod were fables invented according to his own fancy by Josephus. But if such were the case, it then must be explained why Herod built, at the very gate of the royal tombs, an expiatory monument, after the fatal visit, in the course of which two of his most faithful guards perished. Josephus knew this monument *de visu*; he speaks of it, and describes it as having seen it: to deny its existence and origin becomes, then, more than difficult. And another inference to be drawn from this is, that the entrance to the royal tombs was well known to the whole population of the city.

In the days of Solomon, silver was not scarce in Jerusalem, for we read as follows in the Holy Scriptures: "It was not anything accounted of in the days

of Solomon."* Then again :† "And the king made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones, and cedar trees made he as the sycamore trees that are in the vale, for abundance." The same assertion is repeated in the first Book of Kings, x. 27. However hyperbolical this last expression may appear, it proves, nevertheless, that Solomon could, without laying too great a burthen on his finances, bury 3000 silver talents in his father's tomb.

But some people will say, if treasures indeed existed in this tomb, the Assyrians, and many other spoilers of the treasures in the Temple and of the royal treasury in Jerusalem, must have plundered the regal sepulchres. Those who make this objection forget that the nations of old were no violators of tombs, and that they had, on the contrary, a deep respect for the abodes of the dead. As an instance, we know that when Cambyses, after having got possession of Egypt, violated the sepulchre of Amasis, he excited a general uproar of indignation and malediction. This objection, then, does not seem to me to have any weight against my hypothesis.

The most serious argument against the identity of the Qbour-el-Molouk with the tombs of David and of the princes of his dynasty, is founded on the Book of Nehemiah. It must be confessed that the book of Nehemiah is very difficult to understand ; for the more we study it the less we can thoroughly make out, as regards the descriptions of various places.

Nehemiah was cup-bearer to King Artaxerxes

* 2 Chron. ix. 20. † 2 Chron. i. 15.

Longimanus (ii. 1). In the twentieth year of the reign of this prince, Nehemiah obtained letters authorising him to go and rebuild Jerusalem (ii. 8). He was escorted by captains of the army and horsemen (ii. 9). He arrives in Jerusalem ; and instead of immediately making use of the letters, which give him full power, how does he employ himself? He goes out at night, like a man who is afraid of being seen, and examines the walls. It can scarcely be supposed that this inspection extended merely along a portion of the walls ; to achieve any useful purpose, he must have gone entirely round the town. Here follow the verses giving the narrative of this excursion : (Chap. ii.)

"13. And I went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon-well, and to the dung-port, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire. 14. And I went on to the gate of the fountain, and to the king's pool ; but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass. 15. Then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall, and turned back, and entered by the gate of the valley, and so returned."

It appears that Nehemiah went out and returned by the gate of the valley. He ascended by the way of the brook, that is to say, by the Kedron. I infer from this that he made the circuit of the town. Assuredly a gate that is called the gate of the *valley* must open towards the valley. Are there several gates which might be entitled to this name in Jerusalem ? There is only one that I know of, and that is the gate of

Setty-Maryam (the modernised name of St. Stephen's gate), close to which there is still a fountain, which may very well be the ancient Dragon well. In Jerusalem the fountains are so scarce, that there is not much chance of making a mistake when identifying those that exist now with those that are mentioned in the Bible. From this place, Nehemiah, going up in the direction of the gate of the Dunghill, looks on at the melancholy condition of the walls of Jerusalem (he speaks of the walls *of Jerusalem*, he does not say *of the Temple*). Where was the gate of the Dunghill situated? Nobody can tell; some pretend to place it on one side, others on the side opposite. From hence, Nehemiah goes on to the gate of the fountain and to *the King's pool*. This gate of the fountain is not known at present; but he proceeds next to *the King's pool:* here there is no confusion possible; in my opinion, the place so mentioned is the immense cistern excavated at the foot of Mount Zion, at the opening of the Valley of Hinnom, and still bearing the name of Birket-es-Soulthan (literally, *the King's pool*). He observes that here the road ceased to be practicable; and from the disposition and circumstances of the ground, this statement must have been perfectly correct; for what with the natural difficulties, what with the rubbish resulting from the demolition of the ramparts that had formerly stood on Mount Zion, the side of the hill must have been impassable for any beast upon which he might have been mounted.

Finally, Nehemiah goes up by the brook Kedron, and looks upon the wall. This time he does not specially

name the wall of Jerusalem; and the reason seems obvious: he was riding past the enclosure of the *Temple.* Then he comes back to the gate of the valley the present gate of Setty-Maryam, and returns home, without the magistrates of the town having the slightest notion of how he has been employed in his nocturnal excursion (ii. 16).

I know that the progress of Nehemiah might also be explained in another manner; by taking the present Bab-el-Khalil for the gate of the valley, the fountain of the Dragon (עין התנין) would then be the Birket-Mamillah, which Josephus positively calls the pool of the *Serpents;* the gate of the Dunghill would be the Bab-Sahioun; the gate of the fountain, the Bab-el-Morharibeh; and, finally, the King's pool would be identical with the Pool of Siloäm. By proceeding in this manner, Nehemiah would still indeed have gone up by the brook, but he would have neglected to examine the topographical details of all the eastern, northern, and western portions of the enclosure; and there would still remain the important difficulty of identifying the small pool of Siloäm with the *King's pool,* when we have an immense reservoir, situated at a considerable distance from this direction, and still bearing the name of *the King's pool* (Birket-es-Soulthan).

According to the first of these two explanations, Nehemiah's inspection is found to be quite perfect: he has been examining the whole of the enclosure he purposes to rebuild, and the actual state of which it is consequently important for him to ascertain; whilst this inspection would indeed be very incomplete.

and afford little information, if he confined himself to a mere ride along only one side of the enclosure.

Some time after, Nehemiah calls together all the inhabitants, and invites them to rebuild the walls of their city; and when Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, remonstrate with him, saying, "What is this thing that ye do? will ye rebel against the king?" (ii. 19,) he still refuses to show them his letters, and contents himself with replying: "The God of heaven he will prosper us; therefore we, his servants, will arise and build; but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jerusalem." (ii. 20.)

Then ensues the enumeration of the various artificers who laboured at the reconstruction of the walls, and I declare in perfect humility, that I cannot clearly follow the meaning of this chapter. I have, indeed, some slight conception that there is, in this enumeration, a part that relates to the city, properly so called; and another part that relates to the enclosure of the Temple with the portion of the ramparts adjoining the Temple; but I cannot venture to assert that I comprehend the distinction sufficiently.

The endeavours of the Reverend Dr. Robinson, the author of the best book that I am acquainted with concerning Judæa, have not been more successful than my own; and he acknowledges it with similar frankness.

In this description of the works undertaken, we read (Nehem. chap. iii.):—

"13. The valley gate repaired Hanun, and the inhabitants of Zanoah; they built it, and set up the

doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof and a thousand cubits on the wall unto the dung-gate.

"14. But the dung-gate repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of part of Beth-haccerem; he built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof.

"15. But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallun the son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of part of Mizpah; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David.

"16. After him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, unto the *place over against the sepulchres of David* (עד נגד כברי דויד), and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty.

"17. After him repaired the Levites," &c. &c.

Such is the passage upon which arguments are built to place upon Mount Zion the sepulchres of David and of the kings of Judah.

It is to be regretted that this passage is mixed up with unusual names, which are only to be found in the book of Nehemiah; for, I repeat, it is impossible to identify distinctly the places enumerated in the chapter from which I have quoted.

The only remaining authority is the narrative of Benjamin of Tudela.* He had heard of the entrance into David's tomb having been accidentally discovered

* Itinerarium, c. 9.

by two terrace-makers, who were employed in removing rubbish from a portion of the enclosure surrounding the fortress of Zion; and that these workmen, when penetrating into the tomb, came into several apartments inlaid with gold and silver, and a table, upon which were lying the sceptre and crown of David; the story went on to say, that these workmen fainted, and only recovered their senses at long intervals; that they went to inform the Rabbi of what they had discovered, and that the Rabbi immediately gave orders for closing up the sacred monument without delay.*

This extravagant story is evidently not worth the trouble of discussing. I cannot understand how so learned a man as the illustrious Münter can have given it the slightest belief; and more particularly, that he should have said the tale agreed with the accounts handed down of the riches that were shut up in the tomb by the testimony of Josephus. This is quite contrary to the fact, since Josephus asserts that Herod carried off every precious object that was in the sepulchres, without leaving anything behind him. If Herod had carried off every thing, it is difficult to admit that the workmen mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, should have found there such a mass of treasure, that the mere sight alone was enough to make them faint away. This story is then an idle fable, without the slightest historical value, resembling almost all

* Benjamin of Tudela forgets to explain how any thing like an order could have been given by a Rabbi, and how it came to be publicly obeyed in Jerusalem. The poor Jews of Jerusalem, instead of giving orders, only know of those they receive, and which they are accustomed to obey with such submissive meekness.

the traditions on the same subject which are believed and narrated most pertinaciously by the Jews of Jerusalem.

The learned writer who has most strenuously attacked and controverted the memoir I published on the subject of the Qbour-el-Molouk, a memoir which I have re-copied in the preceding pages, without altering a word, has been obliged to acknowledge in his criticism the identity of the Qbour-el-Molouk with the Σπηλαία Βασιλίκα of Josephus; but he has inferred from them that Herod, in the beginning of his reign, had prepared for himself an inferior kind of tomb, which he found unworthy, after he had reached the zenith of power and riches; and that under these latter circumstances, he had constructed a more splendid one, which is most probably no other than the Qbour-el-Molouk. Unfortunately for this proposition, it is directly opposed to history; for we know * that when Herod died in Jericho, his obsequies were celebrated with vast magnificence, and that his body was tranferred in great pomp a distance of two hundred stadia to Herodium, where he was to be buried, according to his formally expressed wishes. Herodium was distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia,† a fact positively stated by Josephus. But that being the case, I ask, what can be the Σπηλαία Βασίλικα, if they are not the Tombs of the Kings of Judah, and I confidently await the answer?

In short, there does not exist one single tenable objection, and I think myself perfectly justified in asserting that the sepulchres of the kings of Judah were really in the

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. XVIII. viii. 3. † Josephus. Ant. Jud. XV. ix. 4.

sepulchral cave which still bears the name of Qbour-el-Molouk, *the Tombs of the Kings.*

Besides, until a comparatively recent period, the entrance to the sepulchres of the dynasty of David had never been lost sight of in Jerusalem, as some people seem to imagine. It was only during the dark writers of the middle ages that the correct tradition had been partly lost, and that, while the *authentic monument* retained its illustrious name, a mistaken belief substituted for it a fantastic vault, situated on the summit of Mount Zion, in the interior of the citadel; in a place where no sepulchre could ever have existed.

Josephus positively asserts that Herod built an expiatory monument before the entrance of the royal vaults. St. Peter speaks of David's tomb as of a monument well known to every body. Dion Cassius asserts that the fall of Solomon's tomb was considered by the Jews a sinister omen of ruin. And lastly, what is much more positive, we read in the letters of St. Jerome to Sta. Paula,* inviting her to come and settle in Beth-lehem: "Tenebimus manus, ora cernemus, et a desiderato vix avellemur amplexu. Ergo ne erit illa dies, quando nobis liceat speluncam Salvatoris intrare? In sepulchro Domini flere cum sorore, flere cum matre? Crucis deindè lignum lambere, et in Oliveti monte, cum ascendente Domino, voto et animo sublevari? Videre exire Lazarum fasciis colligatum; et fluenta Jordanis ad lavacrum Domini puriora; indè ad pastorum caulas pergere, *in David orare mausoleo.*" The evident

* Letter XLIV. written between the years 388 and 400.

inference from this passage must be, that St. Jerome knew perfectly well where the mausoleum of David was situated, and that the entrance was no secret to anybody, since he promises Sta. Paula that they will go together to pray in this mausoleum.

A very remarkable passage occurs in the *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, written in the year 333 :— "Item ab Hierusalem euntibus Bethleem millia quatuor; super strata, in parte dextrâ, est monumentum ubi Rachel posita est uxor Jacob. Indè millia duo a parte sinistrâ est Bethleem ubi natus est Dominus Jesus Christus. Ibi basilica facta est jussu Constantini. Indè non longe est monumentum Ezekiel, Asaph, Job et Jesse, David, Salomon, et habet in ipsâ cryptâ ad latus deorsum descendentibus Hebræis scriptum nomina superscripta." What are we to understand from this? I will not venture to offer an explanation. At all events, what is positive, is that according to the estimate of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in 333, the tomb of David and Solomon was not concealed within the flanks of Mount Zion.

In the opinion of the author of the same Itinerary, the monument known at this day, under the name of the Tomb of Absalom was the tomb of King Hezekiah. If the reader will now take the trouble to remember that the tomb of Hezekiah, whatever may have been its relative position, must, according to the Holy Scriptures, have been in exactly the same spot as the royal tombs, the necessary consequence will be, that the Pilgrim of Bordeaux admits that the Tombs of the Kings of Judah were in the same place. This opinion, after

all, is in accordance with that of the author of the "Paschal Chronicle," who asserts that the tomb of the prophet Isaiah (so the Pilgrim of Bordeaux calls the monolithic tomb of Zachariah) was placed close to the Sepulchre of the Kings, behind the burying-ground of the Jews, in the southern district.

It is thus quite evident, that in the fourth century uncertainty prevailed, and the chain of tradition was already broken; St. Jerome succeeded, no doubt, in restoring it, and I am convinced that the Qbour-el-Molouk were in accordance with his notion as well as my own, the sepulchres of David and of the kings of his dynasty.

TOMB OF THE PROPHETS.

Along the enclosure of the Garden of Gethsemane (called at the present day El-Djesmanieh), a road passes that leads to the summit of the Mount of Olives, or Djebel-Thour, and thence to the Church of the Ascension. All the ground that you have to pass to reach this church is so encumbered with fragments of every description, such as bricks, pottery, marbles or mosaics, that there can be no doubt the western flank of the mountain was formerly the site of an extensive suburb of Jerusalem.

About a hundred yards in front of the Church of the Ascension, some very recent diggings have brought to light a cistern and the foundations, as also the remains of a religious building, which was probably a church constructed by order of the Empress Helena or the Emperor Constantine. Fragments of cornices, Corinthian

capitals, and shafts of columns ornamented with mouldings evidently in the Roman style, remove all doubt respecting the origin of this ruined monument. These fragments are carried down with much labour, from the spot where they have been dug up, towards the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where they are sold to the Jews, to be cut up and carved into funeral-stones, to be added to the innumerable quantity of the same kind strewed over the side of the valley, beginning from the tomb of Absalom and extending to the village of Silöam.

Under the Church of the Ascension a vault or crypt is excavated, to which you descend by a steep staircase, with a landing-place half-way down. In the middle of this vault there is an enormous ancient sarcophagus, composed of a stone basin and shelving lid, both of very rough workmanship. There is nothing engraved on the sarcophagus; but on one of the side walls of the vault is a Greek inscription running thus:

ΘΑΡCΙΔΟ
ΜΕΤΙΔΑ
ΟΤΔΙCΘΔΝ
ΑΤΟC.

Put thy faith in God, Dometila: No human creature is immortal!

Two or three Cufic inscriptions are likewise set into the walls, but the darkness of the place, and the short time I had to spare prevented me from undertaking to decipher them. I can only, therefore, point them out to future travellers.

Who was this Dometila (the name ought probably to be read Domitilla)? I cannot say. The Jews of

Jerusalem endeavoured to identify this Christian sepulchre with that of the prophetess Huldah; but this tradition, although generally received amongst them, has not the slightest foundation.

By following the high platforms at the top of the Mount of Olives, in a southerly direction, you reach a second summit, just before the one named the Mount of Scandal, so called because Solomon built there several heathen temples to the idols that were worshipped by his numerous wives, selected from amongst all the neighbouring nations. I found on this second summit of the Mount of Olives two fine cisterns, the opening of which is exactly similar to that of the subterranean granaries of Algeria, and a column lying on the ground with a polygonal base, of which I immediately took a sketch. The mouldings being of a very singular style, I cannot possibly say to what period it ought to be referred.

From this summit, as from that of the Ascension, the view is surpassingly fine, and I doubt if the world can produce a panorama to be compared with it. To the westward, you behold Jerusalem, the scene of the most marvellous event that ever took place upon earth, and the range of hills extending beyond, towards the sea; to the southward, the plain leading to Bethlehem; at your feet, the valley of Hinnom, the valley of the Kedron (which takes the name of Ouad-en-Nar, as soon as it leaves the valley of Hinnom), and the valley of Jehoshaphat; to the northward, the ridges rising successively over each other like the steps of a ladder in the direction of Naplouse; and

lastly, behind you, the desert of Judæa, the valley of the Jordan, the Dead Sea looking like an immense cauldron full of molten lead, and still further on, the dark rigid outline of the mountains of Moab and Ammon. This is a spectacle one might gaze on for ever with the deepest emotion, and which cannot be left without regret, often turning back to enjoy the sensation it gives birth to, as long as possible.

When you proceed from the Garden of Olives to the Church of the Ascension, if you leave the road, half-way up, to pass through the ploughed fields planted with trees, you come up, at the foot of a small ledge of rock, to a very steep declivity only a few yards in length, passing by the side of a round uncovered well. This declivity takes you to the bottom of a circular dome hollowed out of the rock, and receiving no other light than that which is transmitted through the round well which has been cut through the vault. Most probably the steep staircase, or slope, is ancient, and the well has been dug at a much later period to afford light to the visitors coming to the entrance of the monument. This monument is the Tomb of the Prophets or Qbour-el-Anbia.

Let me now describe, as succinctly as possible, this most remarkable excavation, eminently curious. The vestibule is a rotunda, seven yards in diameter; at the four extremities of two diameters, perpendicular to each other, you find, hewn out of the rock, four corridors, each five feet wide. The one, forming the continuation of the declivity by which you descend into the vault, leads directly by a passage nine yards long, to a door

opening into a small chamber, six feet and a half in depth by eleven feet wide. In the wall, at the further extremity, a recess has been constructed for a sarcophagus.

To the right and left of the entrance door of this little chamber, which occupies evidently the place of honour, a circular corridor runs along, intersecting the straight passage, perpendicular to the first corridor, leading to the principal room. In the further wall of the left branch of this circular corridor, there have been hewn sixteen recesses for sarcophagi. To the right, the corridor is circular along an extent of seven yards only. At this point, the rock, owing to the presence of some strata of flint, presented such difficulties to the stone-cutters, that the general plan laid down for the excavation has been abandoned. Four roughly-hewn and irregular steps lead to a small square chamber five feet long on each side. The walls of this chamber are pierced with five receptacles for coffins.

To the right of the staircase leading to this funeral apartment, a branch corridor presents itself three yards long, straight and running parallel to the principal passage traced on the axis of the monument. Then this corridor turns and becomes circular again, so as to join the right extremity of the great horizontal passage. In this circular part of the corridor there are again five recesses for coffins. The vault contains in all sixteen places for sarcophagi, including both sides.

A second circular corridor of the same width as the first is hewn out of the rock three yards beyond. Towards the middle of its left branch, a passage of similar breadth again unites it with the grand corridor, containing

the tombs, and in the right hand side of this passage a place is prepared for a sarcophagus. It is not an easy undertaking to examine thoroughly this curious sepulchral cave. For instance, the horizontal branch on the right-hand side is completely closed towards the circular vestibule by the crumbling of the earth, fallen through the wall opened in the upper part of the vault.

But this is not all: receding back in the direction of the entrance, and at the intersecting point of the left horizontal passage with the intermediate circular corridor, a new corridor begins, four yards one foot long, and five feet wide; at the further end of this corridor is a recess for a sarcophagus, and the entrance of a very low and narrow passage, not more than two feet and a half high by two feet and a half wide, forming a rapid declivity, and leading to a series of chambers of various dimensions, containing six more recesses for sarcophagi. I give up describing this labyrinth, in which I was almost choked, and which the Abbé Michon and Philippe were alone bold enough to penetrate in every corner, at the risk of never getting out again. The Abbé, with that enduring patience which nothing in the world can tire or discourage, could not be induced to leave this fearful sepulchre until he had contrived to draw a plan of the building from the measurements procured for him by Philippe. I gladly take this opportunity of thanking both; for without their valuable assistance I should most certainly have given up examining this portion of the monument—a portion the more interesting, as never until now that I am aware of has it been thoroughly investigated.

Whence comes the name of the "Tomb of the Prophets," applied by tradition to this singularly-formed monument? It is impossible for me to guess. I am not aware that it has been mentioned by any ancient authors, with the exception of the somewhat vague notice given by Josephus.* The historian of the Jews, when describing Titus's lines of circumvallation, says that these lines, after having crossed the Kedron, reached the Mount of Olives, and then, turning southward, enclosed the mountain, as far as the stone called the Peristereon, and the hill close to this stone that commands the neighbouring valley of Silöam.† This indication is very precise with regard to the place thus pointed out; this place is unquestionably the sepulchral cave we are now considering, just as the Σιλωὰμ mentioned in the same text is more likely no other than the village of Silöam, which is still in the same place, and still bearing the same name. But with respect to the origin and to the real destination of the monument, this passage leaves us in total ignorance.

We read in the Gospel of St. Matthew (xxiii. 29): Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταὶ, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τοὺς τάφους τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ κοσμεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν δικαίων. "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous." Is it the Tomb of the Prophets which we have just been describing, that

* Bel. Jud. V. xii. 2.

† Εἶτα ἀνακάμπτων κατὰ μεσημβρίαν περιλαμβάνει τὸ ὄρος, ἄχρι τῆς περιστερεῶνος, καλουμένης πέτρας, τόν τε ἐξῆς λόφον ὃς ἐπίκειται τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σιλωὰμ φάλαγγι, etc.

is alluded to in this verse? It may be so, but the conclusion is very questionable.

Under any circumstances, the monument is a most important one, and fully deserves the attention of archæologists. It has been plastered all over at a remote period with a cement, in the paste of which have been mixed up, to give it consistency, fragments of fluted pottery, no doubt of ancient workmanship. As a proof that this interior coating is extremely old, I found on the ceiling, in a spot situated to the left of the small upper chamber, amongst a number of Judaic inscriptions in running characters (certainly of a very early date, if we are to judge by their form), and placed there by pious visitors, an inscription of the same kind, written in demotic Egyptian letters, which I carefully transcribed on the spot, in the hope that some day it might be completely deciphered. All I could make out is the title of *Priest of Rè*, or of the Sun. If my memory does not deceive me, other demotic texts, in an inferior state of preservation, are to be found in the same part of the wall, and it would be very desirable to have them all correctly copied. It is needless, I suppose, to remind our readers that this fact presents the greatest analogy with what is found at every step in the Syringæ (subterraneous caves) of Thebes.

A Jewish tradition, having some currency in Jerusalem, supposes the Qbour-el-Anbia to be the tomb of one or more of the kings who were not buried in the sepulchre of David. Unfortunately, I took no notice of this at the time, and cannot distinctly remember whether

it is the leper king Uzziah, or the two apostate monarchs, Amon and Manasseh, who, according to this account, were buried at Qbour-el-Anbia.

TOMBS OF THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.—TOMB OF ABSALOM.

The first sepulchral monument you meet as you descend into the valley of Jehoshaphat from the Garden of Olives is a mausoleum, the entire foundation of which has been taken from the solid rock. A kind of platform has been hewn in the flank of the Mount of Olives, so that its sides rise vertically to the right, left, and rear of the monument. The portion of the rock, isolated by the construction of this court, has been excavated on the spot, so as to become the basis of the tomb. Blocks brought from another place and nicely fitted together formed the coping.

I subjoin a concise account of this strange monument, which has been already often described and drawn, but never with sufficient exactness. The basis, properly speaking, of the mausoleum is contained within a square, measuring about six yards and a half on each side. On each of these faces are two Ionic columns and two half-columns, placed under the arms of two projecting pilasters. Over these Ionic constructions is placed a Doric frieze, containing thirteen different pateras and fourteen triglyphs with bells. Above this frieze runs an Egyptian cornice, distinctly characterised, and composed of an enormous torus surmounted by a vast demi-cavetto, hollowed and

projecting like a larmier. Beginning from the Doric frieze, the body of the mausoleum is contained in a square which scarcely exceeds six yards on each side. As high as the upper part of the Egyptian cornice, the monument is monolithic. Above that, it is formed of blocks joined together.

The coping of the mausoleum is composed, first, of a cube or die, measuring nearly six yards on each side, terminated by a small cornice, formed of two fillets, separated by a torus, and surmounted by an ogee and plat-band. Above this plat-band rises a cylinder, having for its diameter the length of the cube over which it stands, correctly speaking, six yards ten inches. The basis of this cylinder is formed by the cornice I have just described; and lastly, on the surface runs a projecting edge, formed again of the mouldings that are visible at the base. The cylinder is terminated in its upper part by a torus in the form of a huge twisted cable. Above this appears a kind of pyramidon, hollowed in the neck. The whole is crowned by a large tuft of palm-trees, resembling closely an Egyptian capital. This pyramidon has been occasionally described by the name of a *Chinese cap*, which some travellers have applied to it. The expression is not technical; but it characterises with tolerable correctness the form of this singular crown-work of the mausoleum. With regard to the respective heights of the higher portions, that is to say, of the portions surmounting the Egyptian cornice, I shall give them very briefly. The twisted torus divides in two equal parts the whole height of these upper divisions. The cubical die, with its

cornice, is of equal height with the cylindrical portion up to the twisted torus. From the Egyptian cornice to the upper part of the twisted torus, or to the beginning of the Chinese cap, the height is about five yards, being the same as that of the cap with its tuft of palm leaves. From the intermediate moulding on the cylinder, up to the beginning of the Chinese cap, the height is about two feet; the twisted torus is not quite one foot in diameter; and from the lower part of the torus to the lower part of the projecting edge, the height is about two feet and a half.

The jutting pilasters are eighteen inches in breadth; the columns are sixteen inches in diameter, and they project rather more than a foot over the face of the monument. The intervals between the columns are two feet and a half in width. The half-columns attached to the pilasters are ten inches in breadth in the shaft: the capitals of the columns are two feet broad at the top; and the capitals of the pilasters, including those of the half-columns, a trifle more than three feet.

Above the Egyptian cornice, the southern face of the mausoleum presents a small square door, situated at a distance of nearly four feet from the south-eastern angle. This door is three feet four inches in height, and two feet and a half broad; it is surmounted by a hollowed groove, shaped like the bottom of an oven, surmounted by a circular moulding, jutting out on the surface of the square die.

Besides the small door I have just mentioned, and which it is rather difficult to reach, three large breaches have been made in the side of the mausoleum; the one

on the face turned to the westward, between the two central columns; this breach has destroyed all the centre of the Doric frieze, and it extends from the capitals to the upper part of the Egyptian torus. The second breach, opened in the northern face, between the two central columns, is at a convenient height, making it easy to penetrate into the interior of the monument. The third breach is in the eastern face of the cube surmounting the Egyptian cornice. The following is a correct description of the two interior floors.

The chamber into which you penetrate by the breach opened to the northward, is square, and encumbered with rubbish, rendering it impossible to ascertain of what materials the floor is constructed. The ceiling is ornamented with a plain frame-work in moulding, and two hollowed-out concentric circles; the western, northern, and eastern sides of the apartment present an arcade, the centre of which touches tangentially the frame-work moulding of the ceiling. The southern face has no arcade, instead of which it contains, to the left, a semi-circular opening, close to which ends a staircase, beginning at the small door opened in the southern face, above the cornice and leading down into the interior. Another small opening, contrived in the thickness of the wall, leads you over the ceiling of the lower room, under a corbelled vault, without carvings of any kind, quite similar to the one which is to be seen in the great pyramid of Egypt, and evidently intended for no other purpose than that of lightening the weight of all the upper parts of the building.

Having given, with sufficient minuteness, a descrip-

tion of the funeral monument known under the name of the Tomb of Absalom, I now beg leave to state the opinion I have formed, after mature reflection, concerning the probable age of this remarkable structure. Let us begin by extracting what the Bible tells us of the burial-place of Absalom. We read in Samuel: * "Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself a pillar,† which is in the king's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance: and he called the pillar after his own name; and it is called unto this day Absalom's place."

This verse seems to me to be a commentary introduced at a much later period, and mixed up with the text of Samuel; nevertheless it is extremely valuable, as we shall presently find. A *Matzabet* is certainly in this case a funeral monument, since it was intended to transmit to posterity the name of Absalom, and most likely to cover his mortal remains. In one respect, although he was the son of king David, it is evident from this circumstance, that he had no expectation of a sepulchre for himself in the royal vaults, which were intended, no doubt, only for such princes as were to inherit the throne. And in another respect, a very probable inference is, that Absalom had his funeral monument prepared in the valley where the royal sepulchres were placed. This place is called in the verse just quoted, the *King's Valley*. Why should it

* 2 Samuel, xviii. 18.

† The author instead of *pillar*, uses the word *cippus*, a grave-stone or monument, which he considers a closer translation of the original Hebrew יד.—Edit. Note.

have been called so, if not on account of the presence of the royal tombs? Let any of my critics answer the question. The kings' tombs were then in a valley. Now the Qbour-el-Molouk are situated precisely at the commencement of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; if, then, the tradition concerning the tomb of Absalom can be admitted, its presence in the Valley of Jehoshaphat would be one more argument in favour of my assignment of the Qbour-el-Molouk to the kings of Judah. Luckily, I need no supplementary evidence, having other proofs in abundance to support my opinion.

We read in Josephus,* that Absalom built for himself, in *the royal valley*, a marble stèle (στήλη), distant two stadia from Jerusalem, which he called his *hand* or mark, saying that, even were his children to perish, his name would remain attached to this stèle.†

The tradition existing now-a-days dates unquestionably from the period when the Jews, banished from Jerusalem by the Emperor Hadrian, after the rebellion of Bar-Koukeba, were allowed to return to that city. This at least is certain, that from time immemorial the tomb of Absalom has been called by that name amongst the Jews, who perhaps brought back with them a rabbinical tradition concerning this monument, at the period

* Ant. Jud. VII. x. 3.

† Ἔστηκε δὲ Ἀβεσάλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ βασιλικῇ στήλην λίθου μαρμαρίνου, δύο σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἣν προσηγόρευσεν ἰδίαν χεῖρα. . . For Josephus to know that the monument of Absalom was distant two stadia from Jerusalem, it was necessary that he should have been well aware where it was; the inference is then that this monument existed in his time, or at any rate that sufficient traces were still in existence to enable him to state that the cippus was a στήλη λίθου μαρμαρίνου. Let us observe also that *Absalom's tomb was distant exactly two stadia from Jerusalem.*

when they were allowed, as a favour, to reside once more within the walls (sacred to them) of David's capital. Not a Jew passes before this supposed tomb of Absalom without spitting upon it, and without throwing a stone at it, punishing by this double insult the crime of the rebellious son.

Now, do I pretend from such evidence as this to demonstrate that the ruin called Absalom's tomb is really and positively the funeral monument mentioned by the Bible and by Josephus? No, certainly not; it is a mere surmise, which cannot, and has no right, to be considered as a positively demonstrated fact: but I confess, however, that as I do not absolutely see anything impossible in this tradition being true, I consider it as such until the contrary shall be proved to me; and I shall state presently my reasons for adopting this conclusion.

The Bible speaks again of another funeral monument of some importance, which induces me to transcribe the passage in which it is mentioned. We read in Isaiah (xxii. 15, 16.) "Thus saith the Lord God of hosts: Go, get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house, and say, What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock?"—This portion of the prophecies of Isaiah, alludes to the reign of Hezekiah, in whose service this Shebna was probably employed as steward. May not the sumptuous burying-place excavated by order of Shebna chance to be one of the two sepulchres to be seen in the vicinity

of the tomb of Absalom? I shall not venture to decide; but what I infer from this passage is, that under the kings of Judah it was the custom to excavate magnificent tombs, hewn out of the rock.

Amongst the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, the mausoleum which I have just been describing is likewise called by the name of the tomb of Absalom. With regard to the Mussulmen, the affair is quite different; they only know this monument under the name of Tantourah-Faráoun (tantourah is the name of a head-dress in the shape of a horn, and more than two feet long, worn by the females in the neighbourhood of the Lebanon).

I have the misfortune of finding myself in direct opposition to the antiquaries and architects concerning the age of this curious monument, which they conceive to be an excellent sample of the lowest decline of the Grecian art: I much regret that I cannot subscribe to their opinion. I have studied many monuments of the decline, but I have never discovered in them the strange mixture which we observe here, of the characteristic portions of the orders most distinct from each other; that is to say, of the Ionic and Doric, surmounted by an Egyptian cornice. Shall I be allowed, in my turn, to believe, and express my belief, that hybrid monuments of this description, may very easily happen to be anterior to the period when the Greeks perfected the separation of the elementary principles upon which they constituted their classic orders, by borrowing from all the monuments which fell under their eyes, such of those components as seemed to harmonise in a greater degree,

so as to form one united assemblage that henceforth remained homogeneous.

I know not if this point will be granted to me, but, at any rate, I must insist on a fact against which no possible objection can be raised. At the sight of Absalom's tomb, antiquaries and architects have alike unanimously exclaimed: *This is a monument of the end of the fourth century, taking it at the earliest!* I regret being compelled to destroy their belief in the most peremptory manner.

I have often already made use of the information afforded by the "Itinerary" written in 333 by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, but never to such advantage as in the present instance. The following passage I read in this diary: "Item ab Hierusalem euntibus ad portam, quæ est contra orientem, ut ascendatur in montem Oliveti, vallis quæ dicitur Josaphat. Ad partem sinistram ubi sunt vineæ, est et petra ubi Juda Scarioth Christum tradidit. A parte vero dextrâ est arbor palmæ, de quâ infantes ramos tulerunt et veniente Christo substraverunt. Inde non longè, quasi ad lapidis missum, sunt monumenta duo monubiles (*sic*) miræ pulchritudinis facta. In unum positus est Isaias propheta, qui (*sic*) est vere monolitus (*sic*) et in alium (*sic*) Ezechias Rex Judæorum."

What is the necessary inference? In 333, that is to say, precisely at the expiration of one-third of the beginning of the century, to the latter end of which antiquaries refer the two monuments of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, these monuments were seen and admired by our pilgrim, who, most probably did not originate the opinion that one (the monolith) was the tomb of Isaiah; and that

the other (that which is now called Absalom's tomb) was the mausoleum of Hezekiah, king of Judah. Without any doubt, the Pilgrim had picked up the local tradition, and it clearly appears, that in the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, this tradition referred to the period of the kings of Judah, these two monuments, the origin of which was most certainly unknown to the population of Jerusalem, precisely because it was a very remote one, and because the chain of tradition had been broken by the expulsion of the Jews from their city. Now let controversialists assert as strongly as they please, that I am mistaken, the consequence must be, that the Pilgrim of Bordeaux is mistaken also, and that he saw and admired monuments which could not have existed until about fifty years after his journey to Jerusalem.

TOMB OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

In the eastern wall of the court, hewn out of the rock that surrounds the tomb of Absalom, is to be seen, on the left, the summit of a pediment ornamented with pinnacles and elegant foliage, filling the whole of the tympanum. According to both Jews and Christians of Jerusalem, this is the tomb of Jehoshaphat. But what Jehoshaphat? the question is not easily answered. This sepulchre cannot be inspected in the present day; mounds of earth and Jewish tombs having closed the entrance, so that any attempt to penetrate into the interior would be attended with danger.

This closing up of the building is of recent occurrence. The story goes, that some curious people having been

prying about in the sepulchral grotto, found a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch still remaining in one of the tombs, and that the Jews then determined that the vault should be closed. I cannot say if there is any truth in this legend; I only know that, to my great regret, I found the monument so completely blocked in, that I considered it prudent not to attempt removing the obstacles before the entrance, for fear of disturbing some dead inhabitant, with whom the living might very probably have sided in a manner exceedingly disagreeable for us. I have, therefore, nothing to say concerning this sepulchral cave, which I was unable to inspect.

TOMB OF ST. JAMES.

Less than a hundred paces distant * from the tomb of Absalom, in a southerly direction, and still in the perpendicular rock which forms the base of the Mount of Olives, is to be seen a fine sepulchral chamber, known to the Christians under the name of the tomb of St. James, and to the Mussulmen under that of Diouan-Faráoun (the Divan of Pharaoh). The description is as follows :—

A vestibule supported by two columns and by two half-pilasters of the Doric order, excavated from the mass of the rock, shows itself externally. These four supports are united together by an architrave surmounted by a Doric frieze, bearing nine triglyphs with drops (bells), and surmounted in turn by a regular cornice.

* Williams, who measured the distance between these two monuments, has found it to be one hundred and forty-five English feet, that is to say, about forty-four métres, or yards.

The height measured between the architrave and the floor of the vestibule is about nine feet; the intervals between the left pillar and the left column, and between the two columns are similar in width, being nearly four feet; that between the right column and the right pillar, is something less. The breadth of the pillars is a trifle more than one foot; the circumference of the columns, four feet and a half, which gives them one foot and a half in diameter. The breadth of the capitals of the columns is nearly two feet, and their total height, eight inches. Between the abacus surmounting them and the ceiling of the vestibule, there is an interval of six inches. In the sides of the columns and pilasters, are pierced notches and grooves, the highest of which is placed more than four feet below the basis of the capitals. Without any doubt these notches have served to fix a metallic balustrade, which has very naturally disappeared, as an obvious prey easily carried off.

The platform of the vestibule retires about six feet within the projection of the lower rock. This vestibule, measured inside the walls, is seventeen feet and a half wide, and nine feet deep between the interior face of the pilasters and the wall at the further end. The three side walls of this vestibule, when you turn your back to the entrance, are pierced in the following manner: In the left-hand side wall opens, at a distance of four feet from the interior face of the pilaster, a door four feet and a half wide, and reaching to the ceiling. Close to this door ends a staircase, open to the air, formed of steps, each six inches high, leading obliquely to the

rock above the vault. In the wall at the further end is pierced, at a distance of a little more than three feet from the left side, a door five feet wide, distant about nine feet from the right-hand wall.

To the left of, and a foot and a half above, this door, there is a window, rather more than two feet wide, and nearly one foot high, giving light to the sepulchral chamber, into which the door opens. Lastly, the right wall, with the pilaster projecting six or seven inches, contains a square door, near seven feet on each side, distant eighteen inches from the bottom wall, and only three from the interior face of the pilaster. This door opens into a tolerably long corridor, ending at the wall of the court, in which is situated the monument known by the name of the Tomb of Zechariah. The floor of the vestibule, has along the right-hand side and at the bottom, before the door leading to the last-named monument, a sort of banquette, ten inches wide, and commencing at a distance of five feet from the right flank of the door leading to the sepulchral chambers.

This corridor is rather roughly executed. As soon you have passed the door constructed in the right flank of the vestibule, you come upon a platform, four feet and a half long, beyond which is a step one foot broad in the direction of the axis of the vestibule. This step, which you reach by a descent of six inches, is itself six inches above the floor of the next corridor that follows, and which extends for four yards and a half. Here you descend again another step of six inches in depth, to a small lower platform, a yard and a half wide, the left side of which, ten inches from the left-hand wall, and

twenty-three or four on the right hand one. This platform, following the axis, is rather more than five feet in length ; here the corridor ends by a perpendicular partition, containing an opening, four feet and a half wide, and four feet ten inches high, penetrating a wall of rock four feet thick. On the right cheek of this opening two grooves have been hollowed, which must have formerly held fixed doors, for there is no appearance of plates in which hinges could have turned. From this description it will appear that the corridor is twenty-eight feet and a half in total length, reckoning from the right face of the vestibule to the left side wall of the rocky court in the midst of which rises the Tomb of Zechariah.

Both inside and outside, this vault is covered with Judaic inscriptions, generally modern ones, containing the names of pious visitors ; on the architrave is to be seen an inscription, somewhat longer than the others, and of a much more ancient appearance, but which, owing to its effaced condition, I was unable to decipher, partly on account of the very awkward position necessary for the examination, by hanging to one of the columns to avoid rolling down to the foot of the rock. It would be desirable that some one could, with the assistance of ladders, take off an impression and copy of this Judaic inscription which may chance to prove interesting. With this object, I expressly point it out to future travellers.

To finish the description of the external part of the monument, I shall merely add that from the lower face of the architrave to the summit of the cornice sur-

mounting the frieze, the height is three feet and five inches. Close to the pilaster on the left-hand side, the surface of the rock presents two smooth bands, rising higher than the exterior vestibule, and projecting eight inches beyond the smooth surface of hewn rock that divides them; this interval of division being five feet and a half wide. The projecting band in close contact with the pilaster of the vestibule is three feet in breadth, the second, three feet and a half. In the intermediate retiring face, a door opens, five feet high and two feet wide, the sill of which is on a level with the floor of the vestibule; between the side posts of this door and the two large projecting bands, the distance is sixteen inches on the right, and twenty inches on the left. I was unable to ascertain where this door leads to, or for what purpose it was intended.

Let us now describe the inner vault. When you cross the door pierced in the end wall of the vestibule, you find yourself in an ante-chamber, sixteen feet wide and thirteen feet long. Three doors are pierced in the walls of this ante-chamber, one in the right, one in the left, and one in the bottom wall. In the left angle the interior partition has been violently broken, and I infer from this that the window opening into the vestibule is of a much later date than the arrangement of the original monument. The door in the left wall leads into a square sepulchral chamber, measuring twelve feet on each side. Three recesses for coffins are hewn in this chamber, two in the wall opposite the entrance, and the third in the wall on the right.

The door at the end of the ante-chamber opens

immediately into a small apartment, ten feet wide by ten feet three inches long; round the three further sides runs a banquette, one yard in width; on the left face there is a sepulchral recess, so small, that it resembles a niche. In the end face there are two openings; of these, the first, that is to say the one on the left, leads obliquely into another sepulchral chamber containing, on its three further sides, arches or narrow vaults constructed in the walls. The second or right opening is a simple recess for a coffin. In the right face there is a single sepulchral recess symmetrically placed with regard to the one in the face opposite.

Let us return to the ante-chamber to describe the sepulchral apartment into which you enter by the door in the right wall; this wall is only eight inches thick. Having passed it, the door leads you into a corridor twenty-two inches wide (exactly equal with the width of the door); from the left inward face of the door, a banquette commences rather more than a foot wide, above which are hollowed out two recesses for coffins, with openings four feet and a half high. The banquette is six feet eight inches long: at its extremity it is bounded by a return of the entrance corridor, at the end and on the right flank of which are also hollowed out two additional recesses for coffins. Such is the general arrangement of this extraordinary sepulchral monument.

When and on what occasion did this vault receive the name of the Tomb of St. James? I am completely at a loss to determine. Perhaps St. James, after his martyrdom, may have been buried in one of the

recesses constructed in the interior. But this is a mere gratuitous hypothesis resting on nothing beyond the Christian tradition, which, in this instance, is very vague and undefined. It is well known that St. James was precipitated from the top of the walls of the Temple, and stoned to death; he was still praying for his murderers when one of these struck him on the head a blow with a fuller's mace, and thus put an end to his sufferings. Josephus,* relating the death of this apostle, states that the high-priest, Ananus the younger, taking advantage of the absence of the Roman magistrates, summoned before his tribunal a brother of Jesus surnamed Christus, by name Jacobus, and a few others along with him; and that, after having declared them guilty of violating the law, he gave them up to the people to be stoned to death (παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους). Did St. James contrive to drag himself so far as the foot of the sepulchral grotto which bears his name, and was he deposited therein after his martyrdom? This is a question which we have no means of ascertaining at the present day.

The Tomb of St. James is connected in my remembrance with a little adventure which was merely amusing, but might have ended in a tragedy: I shall briefly relate it, to show that even at the very gates of Jerusalem, it is wise to be prepared if you wish not to be exposed to unpleasant surprises. I had entered the tomb with the Abbé Michon to take the measurements necessary for a plan; an Arab of Silöam who had seen us going in apparently unarmed, came and seated him-

* Ant. Jud. XX. ix. 1.

self very quietly in the court of the Tomb of Zechariah, waiting our return in the hope of extorting something from us. He was himself armed with only a tolerably long khandjar, stuck under the piece of cord that served him as a belt. When, after a few hours, we came out by the small low door, close to which he was smoking his tchibouk, the scoundrel darted suddenly towards me, judging that I had no means of defence but the album under my arm; and commanded me, very impudently, to give him a bakhshish. "A bakhshish," said I, "and why should I give you one? Is it because I have seen your face, or because you have seen mine." "I will have a bakhshish, and thou must give me one," was his answer, expressed in rather a threatening tone. I at once drew a pistol from my side-pocket, cocked it, and bringing it close to his face, said to him: "I extort nobody's money, but I give mine only to such people as I choose; if thou desirest to swallow powder and lead, here is some at thy service!" "La!" (no!) answered he, drawing back with a crest-fallen air; and running off, showing very little inclination to continue a conversation which had taken a turn rather different from what he had expected. If we had been really unarmed it would have been necessary to pay a good round sum to this rascal to get rid of him. Let this be a warning to future travellers who may choose to ramble in the neighbourhood of the Holy City.

TOMB OF ZECHARIAH.

The monument which I am now about to describe is known both to Christians and Jews under the name of the Tomb of Zechariah; the Mussulmen call it the Qobr-Zoudjet-Farâoun, the tomb of Pharaoh's wife. It bears considerable resemblance to the tomb of Absalom, but differs from it in the pyramidal coping with which it is surmounted, and also in this particular, that it is completely monolithic. As we have seen in the case of Absalom's tomb, a mass of rock has been isolated by the construction of a court hewn under the foot of the Mount of Olives, and this mass has been carved and ornamented where it stood.

The base of the mausoleum is circumscribed within a square of five yards and a half on each side. Each face presents two Ionic columns, and two half-columns placed under the shoulders of two projecting pilasters; the western face, or, as I should say, that fronting the enclosure of the Harem, is the only one which has been carefully finished; the other three have been left, more or less roughly planned out. It is easy to discern in many parts of the surface, and especially in the inner carvings of the columns and pilasters, that the whole of the mausoleum, or at any rate the lower compartment, has been completely covered with an exterior coating of very smooth, red cement, which has been preserved only in such parts as were not exposed to the injuries of men and of the weather.

The following is the detail of the principal measurements of this curious monument. The left pilaster of the principal face is nineteen inches broad, and the half column connected with it, ten inches; between this half column and the perfect column on the same side, there is a naked interval two feet and a half in extent; the interval between the two complete columns is nearly the same. Between the right column and the next half column the distance is only two feet four inches: this right half column, similar to that on the left, is ten inches broad, while the exterior pilaster has a breadth of eighteen inches. It is therefore evident that this monument is not remarkable for the exact symmetry of its proportions. The diameters of the two columns are, of the first, eighteen inches; and, of the second, only seventeen inches.

Above the capitals runs a plain architrave, nineteen inches high, surmounted by an Egyptian cornice similar that of the Tomb of Absalom, and formed by a torus of ten inches in height, projecting only six inches and a half; the cavetto placed above is twenty inches high, with an external projection of thirteen inches. Lastly, the flat, square moulding over-topping the cornice, inclines a little inwards and is ten inches broad. The whole of this structure is surmounted by an quadrangular equilateral pyramid. The monument is buried to a considerable depth, constantly increasing: but not occasioned, in this instance, by stones thrown by the Jews that have become accumulated round the base. On the contrary, this relic is held by them in the greatest veneration, and all are anxious to be buried

as close to its foundation as possible, if not actually in contact with it. The funeral slabs of the Hebrews form an extensive pavement surrounding the monument, which is itself covered with pious inscriptions, and the names of visitors. The height above the ground to the summit of the Egyptian cornice is five yards and a half.

The capitals are strictly Ionic, and very elegant. Below the capital the shaft of the column is ornamented with a circle of handsome flutings, each resembling a small niche. This kind of ornament has also been found, I believe, on some columns belonging to monuments examined in Asia Minor by my friend M. Ch. Texier. The capitals of the projecting pillars are formed of plain mouldings, and below them, instead of the fluted ornaments, wreathings formed of four pateras. All these decorations are not repeated on the faces of the monument, which not only remain unfinished, but even exhibit, in some particulars, striking defects in symmetry.

Altogether the tomb of Zechariah presents a very imposing mass, and I readily understand the admiration expressed by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux for this mausoleum, which he had correctly noticed to be a perfect monolith, and mentions under the name of the sepulchre of the prophet Isaiah. It appears from this that between the year 333 and our own days, the tradition attached to this monument has been altered without becoming more certain. Who is the Zechariah now supposed to have been buried here? Nobody can tell, neither do I pretend to be wiser than others on this point.

Williams, in his excellent volume on the Holy City, declares, that in his conviction, the three tombs which I have just described, are decidedly anterior to the age of Constantine; he even ventures an opinion that betrays a tendency to consider these structures as monuments of a very remote period; indeed, for instance, when speaking of the tomb of Absalom, he asks himself whether it is not possible that this was really the foundation of the building constructed by order of the son of David, in the royal valley, which Grecian artists might have fashioned afterwards, according to the style of a much later period. I confess I am no convert to this opinion, which implies a *mezzo termine* which is scarcely admissible. In all ages monuments have been restored, but never, that I am aware of, have they been so disguised under a new form as to hide completely their original character. I have, therefore, no hesitation in admitting that these monuments, such as they are, even at the present day, have still preserved their primitive style of ornament, and that their existence may be used as an argument in favour of the decided opinion I have formed myself from local inspection, that Grecian art derived its inspirations in the most convincing manner possible, by borrowing the elements of the Doric and Ionic orders from Egypt and Asia.

MONOLITHIC MONUMENT OF SILOAM.

The village of Siloäm is built on the flank of the Mount of Scandal, and above the kitchen-gardens watered by the Fountain of Siloäm, which furnish the

markets of Jerusalem with vegetables. The platform of rock on which this village stands presents at every step levelled vestiges of monuments, which must have been destroyed at a very remote period. The huts of this village rest against a wall of rocks, in which are to be seen everywhere traces of considerable excavations. A single monument has remained entire, above the cliff commanding the gardens planted at the bottom of the valley, and I cannot by any means understand how it happens that an ancient structure so very important, and so strikingly visible to the eyes of every passer-by, can have continued undescribed up to this day, or, at any rate, how it happens not to have been discovered by any traveller. I consider myself fortunate in being the first to bring under public notice a very interesting structure, the remote antiquity of which can never be contested.

I subjoin here an exact description of this monument:—It consists of a monolithic block, detached

from the mass of rock on three sides only, that is to say, to the southward, westward, and northward. The entrance is to the westward. It is precisely a copy, on a large scale, of the Egyptian monolithic ediculi which are to be seen in our museums. A square dado, with the edges inclining slightly outward, constitutes the basis of the monument. Above runs an Egyptian cornice, formed as in the tombs of Absalom and Zachariah, of a torus surmounted by a wide cavetto, crowned by a simple square moulding. In the middle of the face opens a door, having at the summit two rectangular notches placed outside the jambs, and similar to those which are often seen on the doors of Egyptian excavations. The lateral faces are merely planned out, or finished towards such parts as are close to the exterior face.

The interior of the building is now full of filth, used as litter by some miserable fellah of Siloäm. The description of this interior is as follows:—The door, opening through a wall ten inches thick, leads into a small square antechamber of two and a half feet on each side, at the further end of which, another small low door, two feet wide, opens through a second wall, also ten inches thick. This door leads into a second square room, of rather more than seven feet on each side containing, in the left and rear walls, at a height of about two feet three inches above the ground, two arched recesses. The wall on the right is quite naked.

It is impossible not to recognise the striking resemblance of this monolith with the monolithic ediculi of pure Egyptian origin; nobody can, therefore,

ever think of ascribing it to a Roman or Grecian period. It is remarkably curious to compare the cornice by which it is decorated, with the cornice of one of the Nineveh structures dug out by M. Botta from the Mound of Khorsabad.* The plan of the two cornices is exactly the same. Only as at Nineveh, the building alluded to is much more extensive than that of Silöam, all the dimensions of the mouldings are on a somewhat larger scale, with the exception of that of the plat-band. The following is a comparative table of the respective measurements :—

	Siloam.	*Khorsabad.*
	ft. in.	ft. in.
Total height of the cornice	2 5	2 7
Height of the torus	0 7	0 9
Projection of the torus	0 4	0 6
Height of the cavetto	1 1	1 3
Height of the plat-band . . .	0 9	0 7
Projection of the plat-band	0 8½	0 11½

Without any doubt, the architects who planned these two cornices had studied in the same school, and had learned the same principles. The one was an Assyrian, and lived at least six hundred and twenty-five years before the Christian era ; the other was neither Greek, nor Roman.

Here a very curious question presents itself. Does the monument of Silöam belong to the period of the kings of Judah ? This is a point which it would be very important to settle. Two hypotheses offer themselves, which I shall examine by turns. It is either a tomb or a religious edifice. Let us begin with the first supposition. We know that the king's gardens occupied

* See p. 150 of the splendid work of M. Botta.

all that portion of the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, at present filled with orchards and gardens, watered by the fountain of Silöam. Without any doubt, the king would have never allowed tombs to be placed in the vicinity of his gardens, and more especially in such a situation as to command them. This would unavoidably have happened if a necropolis, on the site now occupied by the village of Silöam, had continued to receive the dead, after the king's gardens were laid out. It is, therefore, very probable that this necropolis of Silöam must have been abandoned from the day when Solomon selected the ground, placed a few yards below, for the formation of his royal gardens. In that case we might infer that this necropolis must have belonged to the Jebusites, who occupied the territory of Jerusalem before the arrival of the Israelites, and who remained masters of a portion of the town, even after David had got possession of the fortress of Zion. If then it be admitted that the building is a burying-place, I formally propose to consider the monolithic tomb of Silöam as a monument of the Jebusites.

I have alluded to the king's gardens. In the following passages of Scripture these gardens are specially mentioned. We read in 2 Kings (xxv. 4), "And the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled by night by the way of the gate, *between two walls which is by the king's garden;* (now the Chaldees were against the city round about;) and the king (Zedekiah) went the way toward the plain. 5.—And the army of the Chaldees pursued after the king; and overtook him in the plains of Jericho, and all his army were scattered from him."

From the first passage the inference is that the Assyrians did not besiege so closely as the other parts, that portion of the town situated towards the Tyropæon, between the enclosure of the Temple and the fortified wall crowning Mount Zion. There is now standing, at the most favourable spot for the construction of a gate, the Bab-el-Morharbeh, which has, in my opinion, taken the place of the gate mentioned in the verses which I have just transcribed. Zedekiah fled with his army towards Jericho; the Assyrians pursued and overtook him there; the inference is that they had not previously occupied the valley of the Jordan, and that the invading army followed, if not the sea shore, the road leading to Jerusalem by the high lands.

We read in Nehemiah (iii. 15), "But the gate of the fountain, repaired Shallum the son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of part of Mizpah; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the Pool of Siloah, by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David." This pool of Siloah is no other than the Piscina of Silöam, and the gate of *the fountain* must consequently have been very near the present Fountain of the Virgin. This gate of the fountain must then have been situated so very near the gate by which King Zedekiah made his escape, that I am much disposed to identify these two gates first with each other, and secondly with the Bab-el-Morharbeh. A city so small as Jerusalem could not have had its enclosing wall literally riddled with gates. Besides, what would have been the use of so many, if we remember that all the roads by

which the town can either be entered or left, anciently had, and have still, a corresponding gate? Another inference is that in the nomenclature of the numerous gates mentioned in the Holy Scriptures and in Josephus, there are several different names attributed to the same gate of Jerusalem, in the olden time, as in the present day. That is the only reasonable solution of the problem of the multiplied outlets to the Holy City. The Pool of Silöam then, according to the text of Nehemiah, adjoined the king's garden.

We find also in Jeremiah (xxxix. 4,) the narrative of the flight of King Zedekiah before the Assyrian army. "And it came to pass, that when Zedekiah, the king of Judah, saw them, and all the men of war, then they fled, and went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls; and he went out the way of the plain." The gate *betwixt the two walls* was then the one leading to the king's garden, and that gate is still, according to my opinion, the same, the place of which is now occupied by the Bab-el-Morharbeh.*

We find again in another passage of Jeremiah (lii. 7,) an account of the flight of Zedekiah; being almost a literal copy of the fourth verse of chapter xxv. of the First Book of Kings, which I have already quoted in another place. The expressions are exactly the same,

* One of the two walls flanking the gate through which Zedekiah contrived to escape, and which gave their name to this gate, must have been the magnificent Solomonian wall, at the further end of which the Bab-el-Morharbeh is opened. The second was most likely another branch of the enclosure, beginning at the gate and running in a southwesterly direction, whilst the first faced to the southward.

excepting the addition of the three essential words :— יברחו וישאו מעוד, the presence of which became necessary lest the Book of Kings should contain an impossible ellipsis; and excepting also the omission in Jeremiah of the article ה before the word לילה *night;* lastly, excepting the presence in the text of Jeremiah, of the plural ילכן, *they took*, instead of the singular ילך, *he took*, which does not seem natural, though it occurs in the verse of the Book of Kings. The inference to be drawn from this is, that the text of Jeremiah is on this point much clearer than that of the Book of Kings.

In either case, it clearly results from the tenour of the verse, on which I have just commented, that the king's garden was close by the Pool of Silöam, and situated, as I have already stated, in the spot where there still exist so many vegetable gardens, admirably watered; the consequence then is that if our monolithic monument of Silöam was a tomb, it must necessarily belong to a period anterior to the conquest of Jerusalem by David, that is to say to the occupation of the Jebusites.

Let us now examine the second hypothesis, which implies that it never was a tomb; for it must be admitted that we have here an exact copy of one of these monolithic ediculi dedicated to religious worship by the piety of the Egyptians. Do we know of any particular circumstance which might have led to the construction of such an edifice on this spot? Yes, certainly, if we remember that the village of Silöam is situated on the flank of the Mount of Scandal. We read in 1 Kings (xi. 1) :—"But King Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of

Pharaoh: women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites. 5.—For Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites. 7.—Then did Solomon build a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon. 8.—And likewise did he for all his strange wives which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods." In all probability, the Egyptian princess, who was the first wife of Solomon, must have insisted on this point, that the religion in which she had been brought up should not be the only one treated with disdain; and without any doubt this princess, who had not embraced the Judaic faith (since the king deemed it necessary to banish her to a palace, which he had built expressly for her beyond the enclosure of the fortress of David), must have had some particular spot where she was at liberty to follow the worship of her fathers. Is not the origin of the *Sacellum* or *Egyptian* monolithic chapel of Silöam intimately connected with this historical fact? Such is my own conviction, but in this instance again I have no desire to impose my belief on others.

TOMBS OF THE VALLEY OF HINNOM.

I by no means intend attempting to describe the innumerable sepulchral caves that are found on the southern side of the Valley of Hinnom. To do this would occupy an entire volume. The immense necropolis, traces of which are to be met with at every step in the valley,

dates from the period when the Jebusites were masters of the country. After them the Israelites deposited the remains of their fathers within the same grottoes; and the same tombs, after having become, at a still later period, those of the Christians who had obtained possession of the Holy City, have, since the destruction of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, ceased to change both masters and occupants; even the scattered bones are no more to be found in them, and from the city of the dead, the dead alone have disappeared, while their abodes are still entire. We must, therefore, attribute to the followers of Mohammed the violation of the Christian sepultures deposited in the tombs that had been occupied, so many centuries before, by the Hebrews, and before the Hebrews by the Jebusites.

The general character of the tombs of the Valley of Hinnom is extremely simple: a square door, rather low in most cases, gives entrance into a sepulchral chamber, containing one or more arched recesses, one or more receptacles for coffins. Often other chambers are connected with the first, and when you consider the number of niches they contain, you are immediately led to this conclusion; that you are in a series of family vaults.

The most simple sepulchres are those that are nearest the Bab-el-Khalil; those covering the point of rock that commands the Valley of Hinnom, the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Ouad-el-Ayn, which soon joins the Ouad-en-Nar, are generally much larger and more ornamented. Are these last more ancient or more modern than the others? I cannot take upon myself

to say. I imagine it would be
the question.

As I find it impossible to giv
of all the sepulchral caves I
shall confine myself to a fe
those which appeared to me
attention.

The most remarkable of all
nately in a very bad state of pres
known under the name of the I
and which during the Crusades
kind of hermitage, where many
Some Byzantine paintings, mucl
still to be seen on the ceiling of
in the succeeding rooms. The
the vestibule has been violentl
original door has been replac
opening, more easy of passag
form of construction. In the wal
a kind of arched niche is hollow
rooms have all their walls scoo
receptacles for coffins. The o
notice in this sepulchre is the
entrance into the vestibule; it
presenting eight metopes, each of
ornament, in the style of pater
are divided from each other by t
called more correctly diglyphs,
flutes and two drops. The two
for ornament bunches of gra
a principal bunch in the cent

smaller ones falling over right and left. Diversified groups of flowers and roses adorn the other metopes.

Tradition asserts that this sepulchral cave served as a place of refuge for the Apostles, after our Saviour had been seized in the Garden of Gethsemane ; but there is nothing to prove that this tradition is entitled to the slightest credit.

At no great distance to the westward of this tomb, which opens on a platform of rock, you encounter a steep slope leading to the bottom of a narrow trench, not much more than four feet wide, nearly choked up with creeping plants, and leading to a handsome little door giving access into a sepulchral cave, which I was unable to examine in detail owing to the impediments presented by the encumbrances surrounding the opening. A porch, resembling a niche, ten inches deep and ten feet wide, is penetrated at the further end by a small door sixteen inches wide, surmounted by an arch slightly elliptic. The top of this door is nearly two feet below the ceiling of the vestibule ; this ceiling is set as in a frame with a rim shaped like a torus, forming on the right and left over the door, two crossettes, cut in relievo, and projecting nearly two inches over the door-posts. Above the rim with the crossettes is a small pediment formed by an ogee, cut three inches deep, with the entire of the inferior part, an inch in breadth, wanting at the basis of the triangle. This triangle is ornamented externally by a flat rim rather more than an inch and a half wide, joining again the face of the rock by a sloping cut less than an inch in breadth. The height of the tympanum is nearly a foot, and the base is ten inches

broad. The top of the pediment is adorned with a kind of crest, of which a drawing alone could convey a proper idea.

This small door, which is really very elegant, must have been set as in a frame between two pilasters, of which only one remains on the right hand side, The capital of this pilaster is somewhat extraordinary. Below a small *tailloir* (abacus) only two inches in height, comes a kind of ogee of three inches, the lower curve of which has flattened into a straight line. Below this again, three flat fillets only one-third of an inch in breadth, and retiring behind each other, in the same proportion, connect themselves with the body of the pilaster, which projects in relievo, to a similar extent, on the face of the rock. And, lastly, two large grooves, worked in the sides of the niche, which serves as a vestibule, have necessarily been used for the object of closing the sepulchral cave.

Another entrance of a sepulchre has a door six feet wide at the top, and three inches wider at the base. A step five inches in height takes you to the floor of the vestibule, in front of which a trench is opened in the rock, in a line parallel with the breadth of the door. This door is ornamented with a frame-work in crossettes, composed of two fillets rather more than two inches and a half broad, divided by an ogee of nearly the same width. From the platform of rock, against which the door rests, to the top of the moulding over it, the height is seven feet and a half. Four feet above the floor, the door has on the right a large groove, and at the same height on the left three smaller ones,

evidently contrived for the purpose of closing the monument.

At the further end of the vestibule, a very low square door leads into two chambers that follow each other on the same axis; the last is seven feet long by six feet two inches wide. At the further end is a sepulchral bed, surmounted by an arch rather more than five feet long.

Another door, nearly similar to the one I have just described, has merely this difference, that its jambs are vertical. This door answers the purpose of a vestibule, three feet deep by five feet wide. It is surrounded by a large moulding with crossettes, altogether nine inches in breadth, formed by an upper fillet two inches broad, and a lower one of nearly three, divided from each other by an ogee, four inches high. The relievo of the crossettes is nearly three inches. At the extremity of the opening, at a little more than a yard below the ceiling, is a small door set in a frame three inches in breadth. Here some irregular notching, hewn in the rock above the door, shows that this entrance was formerly provided with some kind of out-work, the nature of which it is now impossible to guess.

One of the most curious facts to be noted in regard of the tombs of the Valley of Hinnom is their perfect analogy, I mean to say their exact identity, with the sepulchral caves of several Etrurian necropolises, and more particularly with that which occupies the entire valley of Castel-d'Osso, near Civita-Vecchia. I have compared the magnificent drawings of that necropolis taken by my friend, M. Albert Lenoir, and I have been

struck with astonishment in recognising the same doors widened at the basis, and set round with the crossettes which mark the tombs of the Valley of Hinnom. It is impossible to consider this exact resemblance as the result of mere chance, and thus is undoubtedly established the trace of a very singular fact in the history of the human family.

I observed at the entrance of another sepulchre a narrow but very long window, in the shape of a loop-hole rounded at the top, and surrounded by a moulding of uniform pattern, altogether one foot broad. This small window, which was intended to give light to the vestibule, has on each side four little notches for bars, most likely iron bars, which must have formed a kind of grate before the opening. I have no doubt that this small grated loop-hole has been carved out by some pious cenobite, who sought an asylum in this tomb. Indeed, we shall see presently that the sepulchral caves of the Valley of Hinnom have often been applied to that purpose.

In a wall of rock, showing traces of door-posts originally set in a very handsome frame-work, but with only the foundation now remaining, I found a small recess, shaped like a semicircular oven, two yards in diameter, and containing round the interior a very convenient banquette, seventeen inches broad. At a distance of about three feet to the left of this recess the wall of rock turns off at right angles, and shows immediately in this new direction a second recess of exactly the same dimensions as the first. These were probably places where people came to rest or to seek

shelter, either from the sun or rain, but more likely from the sun.

Lastly, I remarked amongst the rocks of the Valley of Hinnom a very singular console, which I shall endeavour to describe, but to which I cannot assign any probable use. In a tolerably deep excavation, a little more than two feet wide, and entirely of artificial workmanship, is constructed a console three feet wide, and the same in projecting relievo, falling back into the rock by an almost insensible curve, and having in its upper part a large rectangular groove ten inches in breadth, comprised between two cheeks each eleven inches thick. To the right and left of this console the crest of the rock presents two notches intended as sockets for small beams. Has all this rough piece of workmanship been undertaken merely to suspend a kind of *velarium* or tent, as a shelter against the heat of the day? I confess that such a conjecture seems to me very improbable; but if not intended for a *velarium*, what is the meaning of it? I shall be very glad if anybody will tell me.

A short distance in the rear of the remarkable tombs with the frame-work in crossettes, a building is to be seen with a terraced roof, and two openings to let in the light. This building is known under the name of Hak-ed-Damm, meaning, I believe, *the price* of blood, and not the *field* of blood. This place is supposed to be the field which was bought with the thirty pieces of silver by which the treachery of Judas had been purchased. What is more certain is, that this place was used at the period of the Crusades under the

corrupt name of *Chaudemar*, as a burying-place for the pilgrims who happened to die in the hospitals of Jerusalem. It is impossible at the present moment to penetrate into this monument, the floor of which is ten yards below the surrounding soil. Through the windows which I have just mentioned you can distinguish some funeral vaults and some very fine arcades, built with hewn stone, of excellent workmanship, and in the Roman style. Schultz was of opinion that this sepulchral monument might be that in which the high-priest Ananus was buried, who is mentioned by Josephus, when speaking of the lines of circumvallation of Titus.* Williams admits this identification, and I can do no better than follow their united example.

I have observed before that in the Valley of Hinnom the funeral excavations were not so well finished or ornamented in proportion as you proceed westward, towards the beginning of the valley. There the entrance into the sepulchral chambers is merely through plain square doors; but as a compensation, you very often meet above these entrances an inscription composed of the words:

✠ ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CIѠN.

This inscription has already been often commented on. Some have seen in it a symbol of remote antiquity; but they had not taken sufficient notice of the form of the Greek characters employed—a form denoting a period verging close upon the termination of the Byzantine empire, in all probability coeval with the

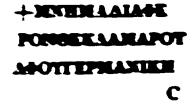
* Bel. Jud. V. xiii. 2.

Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Others, and first amongst them, the late M. Schultz, have supposed that this inscription merely signified that the sepulchral caves thus marked were a kind of common receptacle for the dead, constituting a cemetery belonging especially to the Church of Mount Zion, which has now become the Mosque of En-Naby-Daoud. Other more elaborate and longer inscriptions, placed above the entrances of some caves of the same kind, have seemed to the same antiquaries to indicate that the caves to which they were attached were places of private sepulture.

This theory is certainly ingenious, but it falls of itself, from the circumstance that there is a tomb bearing at the same time and in the body of the same inscription, the text indicating a private sepulture, and the general text that is supposed to attribute it as belonging exclusively to the Church of Mount Zion. I find it therefore, I must confess, impossible to admit M. Schultz's opinion, and I should rather be disposed to believe that in the Holy Zion thus alluded to, what is meant is Paradise ; that is to say, the abode of the blessed, in a future state, to which the door of the sepulchral cave was metaphorically designated the entrance.

I shall here copy the only two inscriptions I observed. Others escaped me, and I regret it the more as the copies of these inscriptions that have hitherto been published, are inaccurate in almost every respect. It is also quite certain, that the translations which have been given of them are still more defective than the copies. The reader will judge for himself.

A sepulchral cave, which you reach by a few steps roughly hewn in the rock, bears, above the entrance, the following inscription :—



Private monument reserved for Thecla, daughter of Marulfus, the German lady.

I am ignorant of what can be the meaning of the very apparent initial placed to the right, immediately below the last line. Now here are the copies published previously by Schultz (in 1822), and after him by Krafft.

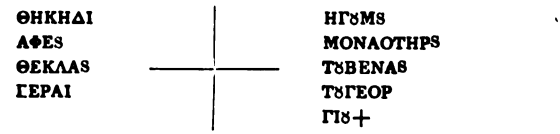
Schultz.	Krafft.
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
+S C	C

The following is the translation which Krafft has joined to the text :—"This is the tomb of ten different men, natives of Germany." It will be allowed, I suppose, that this translation is a splendid specimen of buffoonery ; and, accordingly, Williams* treats it as it deserves. These are his expressions :—"And all that I can venture to assert positively is, that either his decipherment or his translation, or more probably both, are grossly erroneous."

Krafft publishes a second inscription, which I did not see, and which he seems to have found in the

* Holy City, vol. i. Supplement p. 58.

sepulchral cave called the Refuge of the Apostles. I shall transcribe it from his publication.



This is the reconstruction and translation proposed by Krafft for this text:—ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΩΝ ΘΕΚΑ ΑΝΑΡΩΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΩΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΕΝΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΥ. "Tomb of ten different men, superiors of the monastery of Benas, of George." I shall take the liberty of modifying this very entertaining translation in the following manner:—"Private tomb of Thecla, reverend superior of the monastery of the nuns of St. George." Is this the same Thecla mentioned in the inscription previously quoted? I should think not; unless Krafft has made some mistake, and unless both inscriptions belong, the first to the entrance door, and the second to a recess for a sarcophagus within the same vault. Be this as it may, the tomb Θήκη, so designated, is a private one, διαφέρουσα, reserved for Thecla; ἱερας ἡγουμένης, reverend superior of the monastery of nuns (Deir-el-Benat) of St. George. Where was this monastery under the patronage of St. George? I am unable to say. But the reader may remember that in the vicinity of the reservoirs of Solomon, there is a Deir-el-Benat, or ruined convent of nuns, situated at no great distance from El-Khoudr, the also ruined monastery of St. George. Was the Thecla here named superior of this convent? rather distant from

Jerusalem, I must confess—another question which I cannot take upon myself to answer.

Krafft, and after him Williams, have published another inscription from the same burying-ground, running as follows :—

+MNHMAAIAΦEPOTHN.
-AΦOTPOMIISAΓIAICCωN.

And Krafft proposes to translate it thus :—"Tomb of different men from Rome, belonging to the holy Zion." But this translation is evidently absurd. I have seen the inscription myself; and although I bestowed upon it all necessary attention and patience, I could only decipher the following characters :—

+MNHMAAI/ . . . . . POTHI.
THC. ΓIACCIωN.

In this inscription, which, however, I do not undertake to complete, I find a fact in opposition to Schultz's theory.* The same author published a last inscription. taken also from this necropolis, and he seems to have been up to this day the only traveller who has seen it. Here it is :—

MNHMAAIAΦEPONTATOVETTH.
-NOCONOMIOTTOTTIATPOC.
- AΓOCOT.

* Here we would rather abide by Schultz's theory; and M. de Saulcy's conclusion does not seem quite logical. Why should not the tomb be a private one, and at the same time the deceased be a parishioner of the Church of Zion? As regards Thecla, the case is different; she was buried in the same burying-ground, but her convent was at a distance: this accounts for the parochial inscription not appearing upon her tomb.—*Translator.*

On second thoughts, and in a subsequent note, M. de Saulcy writes as

It seems to me very probable that this funeral inscription has been badly copied, most likely owing to its state of dilapidation. I shall make no attempt to reconstruct it.

Having now named in order the most interesting facts connected with the necropolis of the Valley of Hinnom, I shall conclude by observing that the sepulchral excavations of which it is composed, after having been primitively hewn to be used as tombs, became at a later period the abodes and asylums of pious cenobites; that they continued to be inhabited in this manner during several centuries; and that, at a later period again, they returned to their original destination, and were used as a burying-ground for the Christians of Jerusalem?*

TOMB OF THE FAMILY OF HEROD.

When treating of the tombs of the kings of Judah I mentioned the sepulchres of the princes of the Herodian dynasty, and demonstrated the impossibility of looking in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem for the

follows: "Might not this inscription perhaps be read, ΜΝΗΜΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΣΙΩΝ?" In that case the opinion of Schultz, very far from being at variance with this inscription, would on the contrary be perfectly demonstrated by it.

* Already in the year 600, the tombs of the Valley of Hinnom were used as hermitages or cells, inhabited by monks (Antonius Placentinus, Ugolini, Thes. tom. vii. p. mccxvii). Edrisi, who wrote his Universal Geography towards the middle of the twelfth century, says—"To the southward of this spring (Silöam) is the field which was bought by the Messiah for the sepulture of foreigners. At no great distance from that place are a great number of dwellings hewn in the rock, and inhabited by pious cenobites." It appears then, that, in 1150, during the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the ancient tombs of the Valley of Hinnom were generally inhabited by religious anchorites.

tomb of Herod the Great. I said at the same time that a dynastic sepulchral monument had been prepared for the other princes of the same family, and two passages from Josephus afford us full information as to the exact situation of this monument.* In the first passage it is stated that the line of circumvallation of Titus, after having made a bend towards the tomb of the high-priest Ananus, (the Hak-ed-Damm) and rounding the hill upon which Pompey had established his camp, turned back northward, and extended in the direction of the hamlet called the House of the Peas; and having marched beyond that, the sepulchral monument of Herod turns again eastward, to the starting-point, that is to say, to the camp of Titus. In the second passage, Josephus informs us that Titus, on his arrival before Jerusalem, ordered all the ground to be cleared and levelled, comprised between the Scopus and the monuments of Herod, these last being situated near the piscina called the Pool of the Serpents.†

The information resulting from a comparison of these two texts is most clear and precise for any person who examines it with a military eye, and bearing in mind what should be the first operations of a siege commanded by a general even of the present day, were he to present himself before Jerusalem with the purpose of investing the city. In this view, it is unquestionable that the ground laid down by Josephus extended from the Scopus, which means, from the hill forming the opposite acclivity to that in which the Qbour-el-Molouk are excavated, up to the cistern now called Birket-

* Bell. Jud. V. xii. 2. † Bell. Jud. V. iii. 2.

Mamillah, which is certainly identical with the Pool of the Serpents. The monuments of Herod ought then to be found in the immediate vicinity of this pool. And such is actually the case. To the south of, and only a few yards distant from the Birket-Mamillah, are some enormous masses of rubbish covering a few sepulchral caves, rather roughly hewn in the rock, and which must have owed their appearance of value and importance to the precious marble alone, with which they were ornamented, and to the constructions rising over them. Of these buildings, the spot just pointed out, most probably still contains the foundations, which a few trenches would certainly and most easily bring to light. Here then, without the shadow of a doubt, are situated the Μνήμεια Ἡρωδου, the monuments of the Herods. Five private vaults are found under the rubbish, each of these having been most likely intended for a single personage. The correct attribution of these funeral vaults must be ascribed entirely to the late M. Schultz, who was thoroughly acquainted with Jerusalem, and who was not likely to mistake the real tenour of the text of Josephus, a text upon which the examination of the places described has established an irrefragable commentary.

In the description of Jerusalem at the time of the Crusades we read the following passage : (old French style)—

"Dehors la porte avait un lay par devers soleil couchant que on apeloit le lay du patriarche, là où on receuilloit les sources d'illec entour pour abevrer les chevos. Pris de cil lay avait un charnier que on apeloit le charnier du Lyon. Il avint jà, si come on disoit, à 1 jour

qui passez estoit, qu'il avoit entre Crestiens et Sarrazins une bataille entre cil charnier et Jherusalem, où il avait moult de Crestiens occis et que li Sarazins de la bataille les devoient tous londemain faire ardoir pour la puor. Tant que il avint que uns lyons vint par nuict, les porta tous en cele fosse, si come on disoit: pour ce l'apeloit on le charnier du Lyon, et dessus le charnier avoit 1 moustier, où on chantoit chacun jour prés d'ileques."

In this passage, the patriarch's pool (le lay du patriarche) is no other than the Birket-Mamillah. The moustier or church was probably a chapel dedicated to Saint Babilas, and the lion's burying-ground is no other than the group of the sepulchral caves of the Herods.

TOMB OF HELENA, QUEEN OF ADIABENE, AND OF IZATES, HER SON.

To avoid repeating the same thing twice over, I shall not enumerate here the passages of the ancient writers, which treat of the tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene. I have discussed these passages in a preceding part of this volume, when treating of the tombs of the kings of Judah, and I can do no better than refer the reader to that discussion, reminding him at the same time that the credit of ascertaining and identifying the funeral vaults of Helena and Izates, is due without question to the sagacity of the late M. Schultz: as he was the first to recognise them, and to point out at the same time the perfectly distinguishable basis of the three pyramids which had been built above these monuments. Their position is distinctly laid down in M. Schultz's plan, a few

hundred yards to the left of the road leading to Jaffa, and to the northward of a Mussulman oualy (chapel) surrounded by tombs. If you leave Jerusalem by the Damascus gate, you will find, to the left of the road leading to Naplouse, another, running first in a west-north-west direction, and then turning so as to intersect the road to Jaffa. This cross-road leads directly to the Tomb of Helena, passing within a hundred yards to the left.

The only vault of this tomb into which I was able to penetrate, had been recklessly damaged, and if some parts of the wall of the vestibule did not still retain the marks of superior workmanship, this cave would pass unnoticed as amongst the most inferior of the necropolis of Jerusalem. It consists of a vestibule and two chambers, the last only containing a single recess for a coffin. An adjoining vault, which unfortunately I could not examine, as it was full of water, contained the body either of the mother or the son. It may readily be conceived that as matters stand it is impossible to distinguish with certainty the respective resting-places of these two exalted personages.

TOMB OF THE HIGH-PRIEST, JOHN.

Only one passage of Josephus gives us positive information concerning the position of this monument. The illustrious historian of the Jews when speaking of the first attacks of Titus against Jerusalem, tells us :* "Whilst things were thus going on in the interior of

* Bell. Jud. V. vi. 1.

the city, Titus was completing externally the circuit of the place with a chosen body of cavalry, to ascertain the most eligible point from whence he should direct his attacks. As he was much embarrassed because he could not think of attacking on the side where the wall edging the crest of the vallies was not to be approached, and as on the other side the first wall seemed to defy the shock of the battering machines, he decided to commence his attack from the direction of the tomb of the high-priest John." Josephus relates that it was during this reconnoitering that Nicanor, and himself, Flavius Josephus, having drawn a little nearer to the wall than Titus had done, with the object of inducing the defenders placed on the ramparts to give up the defence, Nicanor was wounded in the left shoulder by an arrow hurled from the place. The inference is then that the monument of the high-priest John was sufficiently close to the city to admit of a man being wounded in its vicinity, by an arrow-shot from the ramparts.

The historian of the Jews, a little further on, speaks again of the tomb of the high-priest John, but much more indistinctly.* He tells us that after Titus had forced the first wall, John and his people were fighting from the top of the Antonia tower, and from the northern porch of the temple, and from before the tomb of Alexander, whilst Simon's detachment, occupying the extent of the second inclosure, situated in the direction of the tomb of the high-priest John, had retrenched all that portion of the walls extending up to the gate

* Bell. Jud. V. vi. 2.

by which the water is brought to the tower of Hippicus.

From a comparison of these two passages, it clearly results that the tomb of the high-priest John must have been in the vicinity, and to the left of the Damascus gate, towards the salient angle which the modern fortification still presents in this direction. But then, there exists at this point, and quite close to the city, a sepulchral cave, with an entrance-door ornamented with mouldings; though I deeply regret to confess that I did not examine it with sufficient care, as I was then more intent upon other monuments, which I had undertaken to investigate thoroughly; and as I found myself curtailed of the time necessary to bestow upon this the attention which it fully deserved. All that I can do is to recommend earnestly to future travellers the examination of this interesting sepulchre.

Who was this high-priest John? Josephus, in the passages concerning the tomb in question, has forgotten to inform us, or to name the period when he lived. But I have no hesitation in supposing that the John in question was the son of the high priest Judas, himself the son of Eliasib. Artaxerxes II., was then sovereign master of Judæa, and the satrap Bagoses governor of the province. The high-priest John had a brother called Jesus, who was a friend of Bagoses, and to whom the governor promised to transfer the supreme pontificate. Jesus, confident in the protection of the satrap, having insulted his brother in the exercise of his priesthood, the latter gave way to passion, so that he killed Jesus with his own hand in the very sanctuary

of the Temple. At the news of this horrible fratricide, Bagoses ran to the Temple, crying aloud to the Jews, who endeavoured to prevent him from entering it: "You have dared to commit a murder in your temple —who then can pretend to doubt that I am purer than the man who has perpetrated so foul a deed!" He then entered the sanctuary, and took advantage of the circumstance to condemn the Jews to an extraordinary offering for seven years. The offering consisted in this: as they were in the habit of offering to Jehovah daily sacrifices, they were henceforth to pay fifty drachmas for every lamb that was to be sacrificed. On the death of the high-priest John, his brother Jaddua, of whom I have had occasion to speak in another place concerning his interview with Alexander the Great, became invested with the supreme pontificate.

As I stated just now, the description of the tomb of this illustrious personage is what is required: the tomb itself is found, and it may be easily conceived how interesting would be the comparison of this sepulchre, the date of which is positively ascertained, with the other sepulchres of the necropolis of Jerusalem.

TOMB OF ALEXANDER JANNÆUS

It has been before stated, when speaking of the Chronicle-Book of kings of the kings of Judah, that the sepulchre [illegible] of Alexander Jannæus had been identified in modern times [illegible] by A. Schultz, who discovered it, about [illegible] under the

name of the Grotto of Jeremiah. It is unnecessary to insist upon that which cannot be questioned; I shall therefore content myself with saying a few words concerning the actual state of the excavation. Some traces of the ancient walls of the sepulchral chambers are still distinguishable here and there; but these walls have been shattered, and seem to have been worked as stone quarries, because they happened to be near at hand; so that the whole monument has now no other appearance than that of an enormous irregular grotto, roughly hewn, and with little in its aspect to excite interest or attention. To the left as you enter, is a small projection of rock, jutting out on the face of the mass, and tradition insists that this projection is the place on which the prophet Jeremiah was accustomed to sleep. Unfortunately this tradition cannot bear the test of inquiry.

From the ceiling of the grotto a quantity of water continually oozes through in drops resembling rain. I have seen pilgrims carefully collecting these drops, to bathe their eyes with the water. Was this done as a preservation against ophthalmia, or as a remedy for myopy? I confess I did not think of asking the question. On the left, as you go out of the grotto, you find a staircase leading to a cistern, in good preservation, and full of water. I had no time to examine its structure with sufficient care to enable me to speak of its probable age.

A spinning dervise usually resides in the Grotto of Jeremiah, and levies a small tribute on all pilgrims who visit the place; a trade from which he derives

a tolerable profit. The hillock in which this grotto is hewn is covered with Mohammedan tombs. There is also an inconsiderable natural excavation to be seen in the side of the rock to the left of the entrance into the grotto. This is all that can be said at the present moment of the mutilated remains of the sumptuous sepulchral cave which was the last resting-place of the greater number of the princes of the Asmonean family.

TOMBS SITUATED AT THE BOTTOM OF THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT TO THE NORTH-EAST OF AND UNDER THE TOMB OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

The plains of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, north of Jerusalem, present numerous sepulchral excavations, worthy of being studied with the most minute attention. Unfortunately my time was limited and I could merely pay them a flying visit. As I am unable to say anything positive on this subject, I prefer confessing my inability at once.

Schultz adopting a Jewish tradition current in Jerusalem, ascribes six of these funereal caves with the most of the high-priest Simon, surnamed the Just, the father and predecessor of the high-priest Onias[1] and contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Another of these caves is described by the same learned scholar with the Fuller's monument mentioned in Josephus, when treating of the palaces of Herod-Agrippa. This monument, says the historian of the Jews after having passed by through the royal tombs extended

to a considerable distance, and then turning near the Fuller's monument, at an angular tower, ended in the valley of the Kedron, where it became united again with the ancient wall. *Καὶ δια σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γονιάῳ πυργῳ κατὰ τὸ Κναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνῆμα. Τῷ δὲ αρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν.* Williams is of opinion that the royal caves of Josephus might be probably identified with the funereal excavations which I have just named; but I cannot admit this hypothesis, for the following reason. The enclosure of Herod-Agrippa evidently could not pass along the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, since it encirles the crest of that valley. The expression διὰ, *through* (the royal tombs), made use of by the historian, would in that case appear quite erroneous, whilst, on the contrary, it is perfectly correct when you identify the Qbour-el-Melouk with the same royal tombs.

TOMB OF THE JUDGES.

About a thousand yards distant, to the north-westward of Jerusalem, you find in a line of rocks, placed towards the beginning of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, a series of sepulchral caves, including one of most extraordinary magnificence, to which tradition has given the name of Qbour-el-Qodhâ, or the Tombs of the Judges. But these judges are not to be confounded, as they have often been, with the *Soufetim*, or sovereign judges of Israel. *Qodha* is merely the plural of *Qadhi*, and this word means the judge of a tribunal. If then the tradition is correct, this monument would appear to

to the common sepulchre of the presidents of the sanhedrim or supreme tribunal of the kingdom of Judah. Again, the reader will once more observe that I adopt without hesitation the tradition of the country, a tradition to which I cannot discover any reasonable objection.

Let me proceed to describe this magnificent sepulchre, which can almost be compared for its elegance and the care bestowed on its construction to the marvellous catacombs of the Qhasr-el-Molouk. Williams has given in his excellent book * a description of the Tomb of the Judges, with a fine plan; also two profiles of the monument, drawn by his friend M. Scoles. This is, beyond all doubt, a very superior work, executed with great talent, but still incomplete in some respects, several essential parts of the monument having been omitted. I am happy to have obtained the means of completing it, and of presenting to my readers an elevation, a complete ground-plan, and several profiles and sections of this most interesting relic of antiquity. I have also taken excellent impressions of the ornaments of the vestibule, obtained through the indomitable patience of my learned friend the Abbé Michon. We have to congratulate ourselves upon the fortunate idea of taking off those casts, as they furnish a sufficient and evident demonstration of the fact, that the art which planned the decoration of the *Judges' Tomb*, is neither Grecian nor Roman. The wretchedly incorrect drawings of Cassas, gave currency up to this day to this most erroneous opinion, an opinion that falls to the ground at

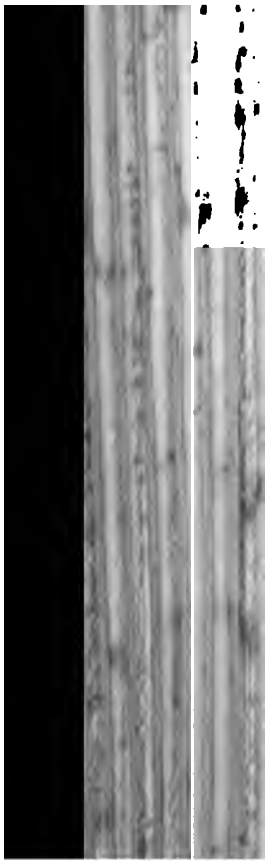
* Holy City, vol. ii. p. 151 and following.

once in presence of the casts which represent the ornaments exactly as they are, without any conventional arrangements changing their true character.

I shall dispense with the measurement of the details, as the reader may trace it for himself by merely using a compass.

A vestibule, hewn out of the rock, presents externally a magnificent pediment, the tympanum of which is ornamented with the most exquisite foliage, mixed with fruit and flowers, though without exact symmetry. Some fine mouldings are set as a frame round the door and tympanum, which is also decorated with a line of small modillions. Two raised acroters, in palm leaves, adorn the extreme angles of the pediment, which had on its summit an ornament of the same style, but now so much impaired that it is impossible to identify it. At the bottom of the vestibule, and in the centre of the wall, is placed a beautiful, but very narrow door, also set round with a moulding in crossettes, crowned with a small pediment, bearing two acroters of palm leaves, and ornaments in leaves at the summit. Modillions also appear around the tympanum, which is covered with a rich symmetrical decoration of foliage of a most elegant pattern.

As soon as you have passed through this door, you descend by a step of no great elevation to the floor of a square sepulchral chamber, arranged as follows :— The left wall is pierced with two stories of sepulchral niches, placed one above the other. The upper range is composed of six vaulted niches, united by pairs under elliptical arches. Each niche is surrounded by a



The lower range contains seven

In the wall at the end, and in
a plain door (without ornamer
square apartment. This cham
ranges of sepulchral niches, pl
but here these niches are all rect
three further sides of the roo
contain four tombs each, the low

In the centre of the right han
door, leading to a small squar
three sepulchral niches on eac
sides. And, lastly, in the left an
and on a level with the floor,
wall and the wall of the roo
tombs, a recess is excavated f
unfinished workmanship, and or
opening are two small lateral ex
arrangement of the upper story

In the lower story, a large
placed at the left angle of th
entrance chamber, contains a s

the left face of the passage; and the third, in the centre of the right face. This last tomb widens considerably along the last half of its length. In the wall, at the further end of this vaulted landing-place, another very small and very low door is placed, taking you down by another high step, similar to the preceding one, into a fine square room, having on its three further sides many elliptically arched recesses, disposed so as to form wide banquettes, upon which rest four sepulchral niches in the right wall, four in the left wall, and only three in the further wall. But in this latter face are opened besides, in the cheeks of the arcade, to the left, a recess, forming at its extremity another small square chamber, and to the right a common niche.

Let us now return to the large entrance hall. In the right anterior angle, that is, in a diagonal line with the first staircase, a similar opening contains a similar staircase, consisting of five steps, and leading down to a square landing-place, entirely constructed under the floor of the entrance-hall. But there no tomb is to be seen; and it is evident that all the places having been occupied in the other funeral chambers, new places were in progress of preparation in the compartment of the lower story, when some revolution having occurred to change the government under which the monument had been built, caused this part to be left unfinished and unoccupied. For my own part, I have no doubt that the extraordinary event which caused the Tombs of the Judges to be abandoned, was the fall of the kingdom of Judah.

The Qbour-el-Qodha contain sixty [illegible]

as receptacles for bodies. The number of the kings of Judah from David down to Zedekiah, even including Athaliah, is only twenty-two. It appears then that the number of the judges buried in the common sepulchre is more than double the number of the kings. There is nothing extraordinary in this, if we consider that the men placed at the head of the Sanhedrim, were necessarily of mature age, wisdom, and respectability, and consequently as the kings often began their reign in extreme youth, the number of supreme judges that died must have greatly exceeded the number of kings.

Now, who were these judges whose sepulchres we find here? Were they the Nasi, or elected chiefs of the tribe? Were they the Elohim (or godly), who were likewise elected by the people? * These are questions which I shall not venture to discuss. All I intend to say is, that in my opinion, it is perfectly demonstrated that the sepulchral cave which has preserved to this day the name of the Tomb of the Judges, is contemporary with the kings of Judah, and that it has received the bodies of a succession of supreme magistrates whose functions were not hereditary.

THE WATERS OF JERUSALEM.

Of all the monuments of ancient Jerusalem, it is evident that those, the preservation of which must have most particularly called forth the attention of its inhabitants, were the *piscinæ*, or public cisterns; as at all periods it must have been most important to keep them

* Deut. xvi. 18—20.

in good repair. Every private house had, of course, as it has at the present day, its private cisterns; but it is evident that these could not be sufficient when Jerusalem had become the capital of the kingdom of Judah. The wants of the Temple and of the infantry and cavalry of a standing army, however small that army may have been, made it quite necessary that some large reservoirs of water should be established, besides those that were intended to supply the necessities of domestic life.

THE FOUNTAIN OF THE VIRGIN AND THE POOL OF SILOAM.

About five hundred yards distant from the south-eastern angle of the Haram-ech-Cherif, on the right flank of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is an abundant spring issuing from a subterranean canal constructed of huge blocks. Whence does this spring come from? The general opinion is that it comes from the eminence of Moriah, and that it is the same water-course which formerly supplied the great altar of the Temple. As it is not possible at the present day to ascertain the point, it is useless to suggest hypothesis upon hypothesis concerning a fact which must remain in obscurity. A subterranean canal conveys these waters to the Pool of Siloam; * a deep reservoir hollowed in the solid rock, the plan being nearly a parallelogram. Into the north-western angle of this pool, the canal I have just mentioned empties itself.

Some fragments of columns are to be seen in the

* Nehemiah, iii. 15; Isaiah, viii. 6. The meaning of this name is *stagnum immissionis*.

pool, and a staircase cut out of the rock, leads down to the water. This water which has rather a sweetish and unpleasant taste, though it is drank without any inconvenience by the fellahs of Silöam, does not always flow with the same abundant supply. But I believe that much of what has been said of the pretended regular intermittences of this fountain are mere fables. Its waters, whatever may be their value for the purpose of drinking, are made extremely available by the fellahs for the vegetable gardens along the bottom of the valley, these gardens having been rendered abundantly productive by well-contrived irrigation. Williams surmises that the columns which are to be seen in the Pool of Silöam are the remains of a church that must have been built over it. I am rather inclined to think they are the remains of a portico, by which it was anciently adorned; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, since the Pilgrim of Bordeaux expresses himself as follows on the subject:—"Item exeunti in Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistrâ, et deorsùm in valle, juxta murum, est piscina quæ dicitur Siloa; *habet quadriporticum;* et alia piscina grandis foras, (which is this second piscina?) Hic fons sex diebus atque noctibus currit, septimâ verò die est Sabbatum, in totum nec nocte nec die currit." And as an additional notice, Benjamin of Tudela, speaking to his brethren in the faith, mentions with regard to these same ruins, that a fine structure had been built there in the time of their ancestors. Consequently there can never have been a church erected on this spot.

I must observe, besides, that the aspect of these

columns had, from the first sight, led me to consider them as anterior to the Christian domination in this country.

Schultz is of opinion that the Pool of Silöam is the same as Solomon's pool, or the King's pool. I have already in a preceding chapter, when speaking of the enclosure of the Harem, mentioned the doubts I entertain with regard to this identification.

GIHON, CISTERN OF THE GATE OF DAMASCUS. GATES OF EPHRAIM, OF DJENNATH, OF THE FISHES, AND OF THE HORSES.

When you leave the Damascus gate and proceed along the foot of the walls, you find, at the distance of about one hundred yards, at the most, an immense antique cistern hewn in the rock, and which, during my entire residence in Jerusalem, was perfectly dry. Popular tradition insists that this abandoned cistern formerly communicated with the Harem. The same stories mention that a noise of subterraneous rushing waters is to be heard in the dead of night by people standing close to the Damascus gate. I shall dispense with commenting on these idle legends, which seem to have some resemblance to the Arabian tales of the "Thousand and One Nights," and shall prudently confine myself to speaking of what I really saw with my own eyes.

That this vast cistern, at the present day half filled up with dirt, is of a very remote antiquity, cannot be questioned. But what can this cistern be, and do the Holy Scriptures make any mention of it? I believe

they do: and I shall therefore try to support my belief by evidence. We read in 2 Kings (xviii. 17.) "And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Rab-shakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great host against Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the *fuller's* field. And when they had called to the king, there came out to them Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder." A colloquy then took place between the Assyrian chiefs and the Jewish officers, who had evidently remained upon the ramparts. And the proof of this circumstance is this, that the threats of the king of Assyria were proclaimed so loudly that they could be distinctly heard by the people assembled upon the walls. The Jewish officers then asked that the conference should not take place in Hebrew, so that their own people present might not understand the tenour of the discussion: but Rab-shakeh only shouted the louder in the Jewish tongue, so that not one of his words might be lost.*

We have positively ascertained, at the Damascus gate, unquestionable vestiges of the original enclosure. The *fuller's* field must have been most probably in the same place where the fuller's monument stood: and Josephus unquestionably places this monument at the north-eastern angle of the enclosure of Herod-Agrippa.

* The same [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The road to the fuller's field was therefore the road leading from the Damascus gate, and passing between the cistern we are speaking of and the grotto at Jerusalem. This cistern is precisely by the foot of the modern wall which, according to every appearance, has taken the exact position of the ancient one; I feel then quite positive, that the scene which I have just repeated took place on this spot, and that the ancient cistern we are now examining is the *upper* pool (piscina) of the seventeenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings.

We read in Isaiah (vii. 1—3): "And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-Jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the *upper pool* in the highway of the *fuller's* field." The spot pointed out in this passage is still the same as in the foregoing one. The king Ahaz, in his anxiety to have news of the enemy, must have gone out in the direction of the territory of Ephräim (since he knew the enemy to be there). Now the Damascus gate is most certainly the gate of Ephräim, as M. Schultz has been the first to discover; it would therefore have been difficult to find a better place for the

prophet than the one assigned to him by Jehovah, considering that he was sent to encourage the king of Judah just as that prince was moving out of the capital, either at the head of his troops to meet the enemy, or with the object of procuring news of their approach.

We have thus positive information with regard to the identity of the *upper pool* with the old cistern of the Damascus gate. But this is not all, and I believe that this cistern is no other than the one called in the Scriptures by the name of Gihon. We read in First Kings (i. 9): "And Adonijah (the son of David) slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of Zoheleth, which is by En-Rogel, and called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants." Adonijah aimed at getting possession of the crown; David, informed of his intrigues, and roused at the usurpation of his son, called before him Zadok the priest, Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. "33.—The king also said unto them, Take with you the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon. 34.—And let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anoint him there king over Israel; and blow ye with the trumpet, and say, God save king Solomon." David's orders were executed (see verse 38). "39. And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save king Solomon."

Adonijah and his guests heard the flourishes of the trumpets and the shouts of acclamation, just as their

feast was at an end. Joab, in his surprise, exclaimed: "Wherefore is this noise of the city being in an uproar? And while he yet spake, behold Jonathan the son of Abiathar the priest came, and Adonijah said unto him, Come in; for thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings." And Jonathan spoke and related to Adonijah what had just taken place, and terror succeeding to the joys of the festival, all the guests scattered, Adonijah himself fled with great precipitation to the Temple, and clutching the horns of the altar, found, in this asylum sacred for all men, a safeguard against the death which he had incurred. Nothing can be more dramatic than the biblical narrative of this event, a narrative of which I have merely given the substance. The forty-fifth verse of the same chapter runs as follows, and is a part of the information brought to Adonijah by Jonathan: "And Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him (Solomon) king in Gihon: and they are come up from thence rejoicing, so that the city rang again. This is the noise that ye have heard."

Josephus relates this extraordinary event in the same manner;* but his narrative gives us besides a very valuable piece of topographical information. He tells us that the festival, prepared by orders of Adonijah, took place outside the city, near the fountain that is in the king's garden; that David, informed of the conspiracy of his son Adonijah, gave immediate orders to Zadok the priest and to Benaiah the captain of his guards, to take with them the prophet Nathan and the

* Ant. Jud. VII. xiv. 4

whole of the troops about the palace, to place his son Solomon on the royal mule, and to lead him out of the city to the *fountain* called Gihon (Γηὼν), and to proclaim him king, after having anointed him with the consecrated oil.

Let us now see what are the inferences to be drawn from this passage.—1st. The fountain placed in the king's garden is apparently the same as the Bir-Eyoub. Now this same fountain of the festival, the Holy Scriptures call En-Rogel. The first inference is, then, that the Bir-Eyoub of the present day is the En-Rogel of the Scriptures.—2nd. The fountain of Gihon was outside the city. From the very circumstance that Adonijah had collected his partisans to the *southward* of the city, it is evident that King David, to avoid a conflict, must have sent the people, who were to accomplish the ceremony of Solomon's consecration, in precisely the opposite direction. The second inference is, then, that the fountain of Gihon was situated to the northward and outside the city wall: and this is one more proof in favour of the identity of the Pool of Gihon with the ancient cistern of the Damascus gate.

We read in the Second Book of Chronicles (xxxii.): "30. This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." * Not only this verse offers no contradiction whatever to the identification of Gihon with the ancient cistern of the Damascus gate,

* This account of the miracle agrees now in all respects with the present state of the fountain that brought the waters into a reservoir, now known as the Virgin's Fount, and likewise in 2 Kings xx. 20. Damascus

but it has besides the advantage of giving some kind of reasonable explanation for the popular stories which positively attest that a noise of subterranean waters is often heard in the vicinity of this cistern. Without any doubt, the motive of Hezekiah for undertaking this gigantic enterprise was to introduce within the walls of his capital a fountain, the water of which, in case of the city being besieged, it would have been most deplorable to lose.

A little further on we read again: * "14. Now after this he [Manasseh] built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height, and put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah." I have already had occasion to refer to this very explicit verse, to prove that the expression *city of David* does not always specify the fortress of Mount Zion. The wall built westward of Gihon is in all probability the same, traces of which still subsist at the very base of the Damascus gate. A *fish gate* is necessarily a gate by which the fish were introduced into Jerusalem that were sold in its market-places. These fish, we may suppose, came from a place where there were fish to be caught, that is, from the Mediterranean coast.† This fish-gate must then have been at the very spot where the wall of Manasseh united with the inclosure built by David and Solomon, and described by Josephus under the name of the original wall.

* 2 Chron. xxxiii.

† For there were none to be obtained from the Dead Sea.– *Translator.*

The verse I have just commented on, only speaks of a wall built by Manasseh, *to the westward* of Gihon. We may infer, therefore, that he raised no construction *to the eastward* of this pool; and a passage of Josephus, already referred to, is in perfect accordance with this inference.* After Titus had forced the wall of Herod-Agrippa, he found himself in front of the second inclosure, defended by Simon and John. John and his troop fought from the top of the Antonia tower, and from the northern portico of the temple, and from before Alexander's tomb. But if, after having forced the first inclosure, the assailants found themselves at the foot of the Antonia tower and of the northern porch of the temple, it follows that the two portions of wall thus mentioned as being defended, were really a part of the second inclosure of the city of Jerusalem: this is incontestible. Consequently, from a point quite close to, and situated to the eastward of the Damascus gate, the wall went down obliquely towards the north-western angle of the inclosure of the temple. Here is another conclusion which I defy any one to contest. Let us remember what Josephus says concerning this second inclosure. The second wall began at the gate called the Gate of the Gardens (ἦν Γεννὰθ ἐκάλουν), which was pierced in the first wall, and going round only the northern part of the city, extended as far as the Antonia Tower. The reader will allow, that it is impossible to express more clearly what I have just been saying. I shall therefore take upon myself to advance, without

* Bel. Jud. V. vii. 2.

hesitation, that the Fish-gate and the Gate of the Gardens are one and the same.

The plan of the second inclosure, as given by Schultz, is thus utterly inadmissible, and all the portion which, from the gate Ez-Zahary, as far as the gate of St. Stephen, is considered by him as belonging to the primitive inclosure of the kings of Judah, must positively be taken from it. Williams has very correctly judged that this plan of Schultz was not in accordance with the texts, and he is certainly right in prolonging the ancient inclosure as far as the walled-up door, called Bab-ez-Zahary; though I must confess that I could not perceive any apparent fragment of the primitive enclosure, in all that portion of the existing wall.*

Schultz conceives the Fish-gate to be the same as the present gate of Setty-Maryam, or St. Stephen; I believe I have sufficiently demonstrated that the Djennath gate and the Gate of the Fishes are exactly the same. With regard to the present Bab-ez-Zahary, I have no doubt that it can be identified with the Corner Gate of the Holy Scriptures, by studying the texts having any reference to the question. We read in 2 Kings (xiv. 13):—"And Jehoash king of Israel took Amaziah, king of Judah, the son of Jehoash, the son of Ahaziah, at Beth-shemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, from the gate of Ephraim

* It is not at all suprising that the traces of the primitive inclosure should have disappeared from this portion of the present wall, though it stands on the very site of the ancient one; for we shall see in the next page that precisely all this portion of the ancient wall was thrown down in the reign of Amaziah. —*Translator.*

unto the corner gate." The same fact is related in 2 Chronicles (xxv. 23), in the following manner:—"And Joash, the king of Israel, took Amaziah, king of Judah, the son of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz,* at Beth-shemesh, and brought him to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, four hundred cubits."

We have ascertained that the gate of Ephraim is positively and necessarily the same as the Bab-ech-Cham, or Damascus gate. But the portion of the wall thrown down by order of Joash, king of Israel, belonged of course to that closing the city in the direction by which an invading army was likely to come from Samaria. This wall, four hundred cubits long, was then on the northern side of the city, and thus it must have been the northern front which, from the Damascus gate, extended as far as the Bab-ez-Zahary. As there is precisely between these two gates a distance of about 360 yards, this distance represents pretty correctly the 1000 Roman feet, equivalent to the 400 cubits in round numbers, given by the Holy Scriptures for the extent of the breach. The Bab-ez-Zahary occupies then most positively the place of the corner gate.

This breach was a short time afterwards repaired by Uzziah, for we read :† "9. Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them." It is evident from this verse, that Uzziah, successor of Amaziah, hastened to put his capital again in a state

* From the comparison of these two passages, it results that Ahaziah, king of Judah, was also called Jehoahaz. † 2 Chron. xxvi.

of defence, and closed, as well as he could, the enormous breach opened by the king of Israel in its military inclosure. The words, *turning of the wall*, seem to apply here to all that branch of the wall uniting the corner gate to the north-western angle of the temple; and the inference must therefore be, that the valley gate, instead of being at the spot where the gate of St. Stephen actually stands, was at the bottom of the re-entering angle, formed by the northern porch of the temple, and by the branch of wall restored by Uzziah. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the Antonia Tower must have, at a later period, taken the place of the tower built by Uzziah over the gate of the valley.* After mature consideration, I now conceive the plan and the denominations which I have just determined, to be the only admissible ones, and no serious difficulties seem to stand in the way of their being accepted.

We read in Jeremiah xxxi. 38—40: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring line shall yet go forth, over against it upon the hill Gareb [this was the name of a chief in David's court], and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the *horse gate*,

* On the site of this tower of Uzziah was probably established at a later period, by the Asmonean princes, the fortress called Baris, enlarged afterwards by Herod, who gave it the name of Antonia, in honour of his friend Antony. I strongly surmise that this word "Baris" is no other than the Arab word "Bordj," meaning a tower or fortress.

toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more for ever."

It would be desirable, if possible, to ascertain where the tower of Hananeel stood. We can already presume, from the text of Jeremiah, that it was away in the opposite direction from the corner gate. This is, besides, verified elsewhere. Indeed, we read in Nehemiah xii. 39, that on the occasion of the dedication of the walls, one of the two choirs that were marching in opposite directions—happened to pass—"From above the gate of Ephraim [Damascus gate], and above the old gate, and above the fish gate [Djennath gate], and the tower of Hananeel, and the tower of Meah, even unto the sheep gate; and they stood still in the prison gate." From this it appears that the tower of Hananeel was more to the southward than the fish-gate. Schultz places the tower of Hananeel at the north-eastern angle of the inclosure of the Temple, and the tower of Meah (or of the Hundred) a little more to the southward. This seems to me quite impossible. I should not be at all surprised if the tower of Hananeel was found to be identical with the tower of Hippicus, or tower of David. It is a curious question of Hierosolymitan topography that would be well worth examination.

The prophet Zechariah (xiv. 10) mentions indeed the tower of Hananeel, but not in a manner that will enable the reader to fix its exact position with any certainty.

Let us return to the prophecy of Jeremiah, quoted a

little further back. Verse 39 indicates, in the clearest manner, a future restoration and aggrandisement of the Holy City: "And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it, upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath." Is there not in this verse the foreseeing of the addition that was subsequently made to Jerusalem, of all the rising ground now situated to the north of the town, and which was united to it by the inclosure of Herod-Agrippa? This seems to me evident. In this case the hill of Gareb (whether this be the name of one of David's captains, or whether it is merely intended to mean the Hill of the Lepers, from the radical גרב, *scabies*, scab), must be one, and probably the most westerly, of the three summits in the neighbourhood of the Qbour-el-Molouk, inclosed within the wall of Agrippa. With regard to Goath, which seems, from the tenour of the verse, to have been lying somewhere about the eastern extremity of the new inclosure, it is a place quite unknown at this moment. The word Goath seems to come from the radical to "bellow," and this name may indicate a pasture-ground for oxen. But this is mere hypothesis, and I hasten to leave such dangerous ground.

The last verse of this chapter of Jeremiah appears to me quite clear. The valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, is evidently the Valley of Hinnom, with its necropolis, and the remembrance attached to it of the Tophet, where so many victims had been burnt in honour of Moloch. The expressions, "all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse-gate, toward the east," design the ground, now so well culti-

vated which, from the Bir-Eyoub, goes up northward as far as the southern portion of the inclosure of the Temple. It results clearly from this verse that the horse-gate was in a corner to the eastward. But such being the case, I am strongly inclined to believe that this gate was at the spot where the Bab-el-Morharbeh now stands. In fact, this latter gate is really in a corner of the original inclosure ; it is to the eastward, and the cultivated grounds, irrigated by the abundant waters of the fountain of Silöam, come up to its very base. But then the horse-gate was situated close to the inclosure of the Temple, and led to the palace. Let us see if we can prove this to have been the case.

We find in 2 Kings, xi. the tragical narration of the death of Athaliah. As this narrative throws some light on the position of the horse-gate, I shall give a short analysis of its substance. In the seventh year of the reign of Athaliah, the high priest Jehoiada determined to put an end to the usurpation of that princess, and to replace the crown by violence upon the head of Jehoash, son of Ahaziah, whom Jehosheba, daughter of King Joram and sister of Ahaziah, had saved from the slaughter of the royal children, and had concealed during six years within the inclosure of the Temple. The military chiefs, for some time past won over to the infant king, were ordered by Jehoiada to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the Temple, where they would find arms, there to gather round the king, and to kill without reserve whoever should attempt to force their ranks. The Temple was in this manner filled with conspirators, and their troop spread along both its flanks to

the right and left (such is the tenour of verse 11). Jehoiada then brought forth the son of Ahaziah, placed the royal crown on his head, anointed him with the consecrated oil, and all present clapped their hands, and cried in joyful acclamation, "God save the King!" The palace was not so distant but that Athaliah was alarmed by the sound of the unusual shouts that reached her from within the Temple. She proceeded there in great haste, and found the people running in crowds in the same direction. Was the concourse of people she encountered the reason for her not passing by the bridge of the Xystus to penetrate into the holy inclosure? Scripture says nothing on this point. It is very probable that she only succeeded in reaching it by the southern entrance (that is to say, by that the place of which was afterwards occupied by the fine Herodian gate now in ruins, and visible below El-Aksa), because evidently on this side the passage was clear. On entering the Temple, Athaliah saw Jehoash on a tribunal, surrounded by the chiefs of the state, and by the people, who seemed greatly excited; she heard the trumpets sounding joyous flourishes, and everything was at once explained to her; she rent her garments, and crying out, "Treason! treason!" rushed towards the soldiers, amongst whom she hoped to find supporters. "Have her forth without the ranges," commanded the high priest to the chiefs of the troops, "and him that followeth her kill with the sword." The death of Athaliah had been decided on, but Jehoiada had forbad that she should be killed within the inclosure of the Temple. On the order of the high priest, the soldiers drew back from her, and

Athaliah, stricken with terror, fled to seek s
the palace. There was obviously no possibility
by the bridge, and thus the only issue l
retreat was through the gate which was not
by the crowd; evidently, the southern gate;
she passed through it. What says the 16th
"she went by the *way by the which the horse*
the king's house; and there was she slain." "
all the people of the land rejoiced, and the c
quiet; and they slew Athaliah with the sword
the king's house."

The destruction of the usurping queen could
place in the house of the Lord, and as she was
by all men, those who had resolved upon her
that they had no occasion to be in a hurry, as
quite sure to find her again in the palace, and
make her expiate her crimes. The narrative
event, as given in 2 Chronicles (xxxiii.) is very
identical with the passage in the Book of Kings.

Josephus* relates the death of Athaliah (or G
as he calls her), in a very probable manner,
many more details. His narrative is as follows:
tholiah hearing the applauses and acclamation
were rising from the Temple, rushed out of the
followed by her guards. On her reaching the
the Temple, the priests allowed her to enter,
followers were driven back by the armed men
been commanded by the high priest to guard
inclosure. Gotholiah, on discovering a child
royal crown on his head, standing on a tribun

* Ant. Jud. IX. vii. 3.

her garments, and uttering a piercing cry, ordered the men around her to kill the rebel who had laid a snare for her, in the hope of depriving her of her regal power. Jehoiada (Ἰώδαος) then addressing the centurions, commanded them to lay hold on Gotholiah, and to drag her out into the valley of the Kidron, where they were to put her to death, so as not to defile the Temple by the slaughter of that guilty woman. He commanded them, at the same time, to kill whosoever might be tempted to come to her assistance. Accordingly, the centurions seizing on Gotholiah, *led her to the gate of the king's horses*, and slew her there." The inference to be drawn from this text would seem to be, that the gate of the king's horses was a gate of the inclosure of the Temple, and that Athaliah was killed there; but this cannot be the case. The Scriptures say positively that Athaliah was killed in the palace, and against this statement no objection can be admitted. That her body was afterwards thrown into the bed of the Kidron, is very possible, but I have stated all that we can positively conclude from the account of Josephus.

In Nehemiah (iii.) we find the following verse: "28. From above the horse-gate, repaired the priests, every one over against his house." This verse does not give us any information concerning the exact position of the horse-gate, excepting that it was close to the lodgings of the priests, and, consequently, in the immediate vicinity of the Temple. In conclusion, I propose to identify also with the Bab-el-Moharbeh, the gate which, in the Holy Scriptures, is called the horse-gate.

The sum of my argument amounts to this. I have established that the old cistern, which is to be seen to the right of the Damascus gate, is the same that received the waters of the fountain of Gihon, which was turned from its course by Hezekiah; that this was precisely the period of the cistern being abandoned; that it was close to this cistern that Solomon was anointed, and that the Assyrian generals of Sennacherib came to summon Jerusalem to surrender.

I shall add but one observation more, which is, that Medjr-ed-Dyn mentions this cistern in the following passage: "Opposite, and to the south of the Zahara, (the Mohammedan burying-ground, placed above the cave of Jeremiah), and immediately below the northern wall of the city, is a large oblong excavation, called the Grotto of the Lion, which some suppose to extend even below the Sakhrah (or rock of the Mosque of Omar.)"

EN-ROGEL.—BIR-EYOUB.—WELL OF NEHEMIAH.

We have minutely examined the narrative of the attempted usurpation by Adonijah, son of David, against the just claim of his brother Solomon; from thence we infer, that the En-Rogel of the Scriptures is the same as the Bir-Eyoub of the present day. Nevertheless, there does exist, at a distance of some three or four hundred yards southward of the Bir-Eyoub, at the bottom of a small green valley, which is the continuation of the valley of the Kedron, turning suddenly eastward, and taking the name of the Ouad-en-Nar, a beautiful little spring of running water, that throws up the sand in twenty different places within a very small

space. Was it not, perhaps, this spring which was called the En-Rogel? I have often thought so, and should be disinclined to assert that it was not; but in that case, the king's garden must have extended to a great distance; for we know, by a comparison of the sacred text with that of Josephus, that the En-Rogel was in the king's garden.

Schultz has already identified the Bir-Eyoub with the En-Rogel, and, as a necessary consequence of this supposition, he has also identified the craggy rocks, commanding to the westward of the little valley where the spring rises, and which I just named, with the stone of Zoheleth. I think I must adopt, though with some little hesitation, this double identification, which seems tolerably well established.*

The En-Rogel occupies rather an important place in the holy writings, sufficient to induce us to repeat here the different passages in which it is mentioned. We read in Joshua (xv.) "7. The border [of the territory of Judah] went up toward Debir, from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is before the going up to Adummim, which is on the south side of the river: and the border passed towards the waters of En-shemesh, and the goings out thereof were at En-rogel. 8.—And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom, unto the south side of the Jebusite; the same is Jerusalem: and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of the giants northward."

* 1 Kings, i. 9.

If we were to construe this passage to the letter, it would seem more natural to identify the En-Rogel with the small spring situated a little in advance of the Ouad-en-Nar. Indeed, since the limit, after stopping at the En-Rogel, immediately goes up towards the valley of the Hinnom, the conclusion seems to be, that after having followed the very natural limit of the Ouad-en-Nar (this being the river indicated in the passage just quoted), the dividing line ascends the small valley where the fountain is, to turn next by the Valley of Hinnom, and pass over the height that closes to the northward the Valley of the Giants, and to the westward the Valley of Hinnom. Let us observe also, that it forcibly results from the tenour of the same passage, that Jebusi, or Jerusalem, was outside the frontier of the territory of Judah, and that it was consequently included in the territory of Benjamin.

The same book of Joshua, when describing the southern limit of the tribe of Benjamin, has the following passage (xviii.): "16. And the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the giants on the north, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south, and descended to En-rogel. 17.—And was drawn from the north, [that is to say, going southward] and went forth to En-shemesh," &c. &c. This description of the southern limit of Benjamin is nothing else than the inverted description of the northern limit of the territory of Judah. It informs us that the limit, after having followed the Valley of Hinnom, reaches as far as

the En-Rogel, and thence proceeds from north to south, so as to pass by En-Shemesh. This second text, commented on according to the configuration of the ground, seems to confirm the identification of the Bir-Eyoub with the En-Rogel.

There is but one more passage in the Scriptures in which mention is made of the En-Rogel; unfortunately it does not afford us any precise indication with regard to the situation of that spring. This passage is from the book of Samuel, where we read (2, xvii.): "17. Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed by En-rogel, for they might not be seen to come into the city; and a wench went and told them; and they went and told king David." As a place of concealment, these two men would have been rather awkwardly situated at the Bir-Eyoub. Would they have been safer by the small spring situated a little further off? Perhaps they might. However, I remain in doubt concerning this topographical question, which I see no possibility of deciding in a satisfactory manner.

The meaning of the name En-Rogel has often perplexed commentators. Kim'hi derives the word Rogel from רגל, *foot*; and he pretends that it was at this fountain that people came to full clothes. If Kim'hi's assertion is correct, the question is decided; there is not water enough in any other spring for fullers ever to have been able to work there. But if we consider,—How could fullers ever have been authorised to exercise their trade in the king's garden? This is another objection, which makes the problem still more puzzling. I therefore prefer, in all humility, to confess

my incapacity, rather than to propose a solution which seems to me doubtful.

Towards the end of the rainy season, when the Bir-Eyoub is quite full of water, it becomes, as well as the Birket-Mamillah, a favourite promenade for people of all classes. The women of Jerusalem go there in crowds in the afternoon, and the men resort there likewise, to drink coffee and to smoke narghilehs, which are served to them in the open air by itinerant vendors. All these people, in their holiday dresses, seem to be rejoicing at the thought that they run no chance of perishing for want of water during the hot season about to commence.

The Bir-Eyoub is also called the Well of Nehemiah, or "the well of the Fire," but it is certain that these denominations are of recent date; they have been given to the Bir-Eyoub, because tradition has pretended that it was in this well that Nehemiah found again the sacred fire, which had been concealed by the priests before the captivity.* Whence has it received its name of Bir-Eyoub? nobody can tell. It would be difficult to find any connexion between Job and this piscina. Williams, resting his surmise upon the authority of a Jewish itinerary of the fifteenth century, proposes to rectify this name into that of Joab's Well. The Joab in question would then be the son of Zeruiah, an important personage, who played a conspicuous part in the history of Adonijah, having been the most zealous partisan of that prince. The reader will remember that Adonijah's festival took place near the En-Rogel,

* 2 Maccab. i. 18-36.

and the name of this well is perhaps derived from the circumstance of Joab having been present at that festival.

The Bir-Eyoub consists of a deep well hewn out of the rock, and covered over by a structure in very bad repair. To the right of the well is a square reservoir, where the water, remaining stagnant, is constantly covered with a thick bed of *Lenticula palustris* (water-lentil). The only information transmitted to us concerning the construction of this well, is derived from the Mohammedan writer Medjr-ed-Dyn, who died in 1521, and who himself derived the particulars from the writings of a certain Ibn-Omar-Ibn-Mohammed-el-Qasim. I shall only transcribe a few passages: "This well is formed entirely of large stones, every one of which is five cubits long, and two cubits high, more or less. I was astonished at the size of the stones, and at the difficulty there must have been in placing them where they are. The water is fresh, and is usually to be found at a depth of eighty cubits, but in winter it rises —overflows the well—inundates the valley, and turns a mill. I went down into this well with the workmen who were employed in repairing it. I saw the place whence the water flows out of a large stone two cubits long; just there, is a cave, the entrance of which is three cubits high, and one cubit and a half wide; a very cold wind blows from this cave; I entered it with a small wax light, and found a grotto entirely formed of stones. I tried to go further, but the wind coming blew out my light." This narrative which seems to be a correct statement, is exceedingly curious. It is

probable that the Bir-Eyoub, the Pool of Silöam, the fountain of the Virgin and the fountain of Gihon—diverted from its course by Hezekiah—are connected with each other by immense subterranean canals. But this is a question likely to remain for ever without solution. Let us observe, whilst we are on the subject, that Williams has proved that the water of these three fountains is identically the same.

But if Ibn-Omar's account is exact, as I am very much inclined to believe it is, the Bir-Eyoub cannot be the En-Rogel; *Bir* and *Ayn* are distinctly different from each other, and the name of *Ayn* can only be applied with any degree of propriety to the pretty spring that is to be found near the head of the Ouad-en-Nar.

Medjr-ed-Dyn's account is perfectly correct with regard to the extraordinary supply of water in the Bir-Eyoub, in the winter season. I have myself witnessed this, and the valley was just then watered by a plentiful rivulet running out of the Bir-Eyoub, or the immediate neighbourhood. This natural phenomenon attracts the daily crowd, amongst whom I was attracted with the rest. Schultz asserts that it is not from the well, but from the adjoining ground that the water flows during these days of temporary abundance. I had no opportunity of ascertaining the fact.

BIRKET-ES-SOULTHAN, AQUEDUCT FROM EL-BOURAK TO JERUSALEM.

At the foot of the western cliff of Mount Zion, is hewn in the rock the largest and most important of

all the piscinas of Jerusalem, although it is unfortunately at the present day abandoned and quite dry, even in the rainy season; this is the Birket-es-Soulthan, towards the northern extremity of which there is a small aqueduct of nine arches. This was the same that brought to the Harem the water from the basins of Solomon, situated near the Qalaat-el-Bourak. I have already spoken of this aqueduct that passes along the side of the road to Bethlehem, near Rachel's tomb, and is called by the Christian Arabs, Qanât-el-Koufar, "the aqueduct of the infidels." I have sufficiently examined the nature of this subterranean conduit to feel quite certain that it cannot be of Roman construction; and I do not doubt for a single moment that all that portion of it which is to be seen on the Bethlehem road is really the work of the kings of Judah. I must confess however, that the learned Mr. Williams has given some apparently sound reasons* for attributing the construction of this aqueduct to the procurator Pontius Pilate, against whose administration one of the complaints of the Jews was, that he had ruined the public treasure to erect the channels that brought water to Jerusalem from a distance of four hundred stadia. I find it very difficult to believe that the Qanât-el-Koufar can ever be considered as of Roman construction, and I am of opinion that Pilate merely repaired an aqueduct previously existing. An Arab inscription—copied by Schultz—on the portion of the aqueduct that passes through the Birket-es-Soulthan, tells us that it was again repaired by the Mamelouk Sultan, El-Malek-

* Vol. 2, p. 497, and following.

en-Naser-Mohammed, son of El-Malek-el-Mansour-Kelaôun (between the years 693 and 741 of the Hegira, or 1294 and 1340 of our Lord Jesus Christ). As Arculphus quoted by the Rev. Dr. Robinson, tells us that, towards the year 697, there was at the very same spot, a stone bridge with arches crossing the valley, I suppose that this bridge was a portion of the aqueduct of Pontius Pilate repaired again by En-Naser-Mohammed, and since definitely gone to ruin, probably never more to be reconstructed, owing to the characteristic Turkish negligence.

The Birket-es-Soulthan, whether it is to be identified with the King's Pool of Scripture, or with any other biblical piscina, is, at any rate, a work of the highest antiquity, the date of which must necessarily be referred to the period of the kings of Judah. William of Tyre is completely of that opinion.*

The Book of Nehemiah mentions a piscina which he calls the King's pool (2, xiv.) Is it the same? The perpetuity of names in this country inclines me very much to think so.

Schultz has concluded from verse 16, of the third chapter of Nehemiah, that the Birket-el-Soulthan was the same as the pool called Asouïah. This is the verse in question. "After him repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, unto the place over against the sepulchre of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." As up to this I have not been able to extract

* Vol. 2, c. vii. p. 747.

any positive information from Nehemiah, I shall not attempt to discuss this identification.

Schultz attributes also to the Birket-es-Soulthan the designation of the lower pool, given in several passages of the Scriptures to one of the piscinas of Jerusalem. For instance Isaiah, speaking to the inhabitants of this city, at the moment when Hezekiah is threatened by Sennacherib, tells them ; (xxii) : " 9. Ye have seen also the breaches of the city of David, that they are many ; and ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool. 10.—And ye have numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses have ye broken down to fortify the wall. 11.—Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool." We shall now find in the Book of Kings and in Chronicles, the counterpart of these words of the prophet. We read in Kings (2, xx.) : " 20. And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah ?" In Chronicles the same facts are given somewhat more in detail. This is what we find there : (2, xxxii.) : " 2. And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, 3.—He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men, to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city ; and they did help him. 4.—So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water ? 5.—Also he

strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo, in the city of David, and made darts and shields in abundance. 6.—And he set captains of war over the people, and gathered them together to him in the street of the gate of the city," &c. &c. A little further on we read again : "30. This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David."

In these biblical passages there are many points to be noted. Let us first observe that Isaiah, when he speaks of the breaches of the *city of David*, cannot possibly mean merely the fortress of Zion ; for then his argument would be inconsistent. It was just as necessary to repair and close all the breaches of the inclosure.* Isaiah mentions a lower pool and a new cistern, as having been constructed by King Hezekiah, within the walls, for the purpose of receiving the waters of the old pool.

The piscina that was built by Hezekiah, inside the walls, with the object of receiving the waters of the old pool, is, in Dr. Schultz's opinion, to be identified with the cistern now going by the name of Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak (the cistern of the baths of the patriarch). But unfortunately for this supposition, it happens that this cistern was not inside the walls of the inclosure of Jerusalem, as that inclosure existed in

* Especially if he wanted to deprive the enemy of the means of procuring water. What would have been the use of stopping the springs outside the town, and of bringing the waters inside, if the town could not be defended? —*Translator.*

the time of King Hezekiah. Williams considers the lower pool, the king's pool, and the pool of Hezekiah, as being all three identical with the Pool of Silöam. I cannot admit these three identifications. In Williams's opinion, as in my own, the upper pool of Gihon is the same as the old piscina of the Damascus gate. I look upon this point as having been perfectly well established. In whatever point close to the Damascus gate the spring may have been situated, which afforded water to this cistern, the waters of this spring and cistern were turned in another direction by Hezekiah. This is quite evident. The Chronicles tells us expressly that the waters were turned downwards, towards the western part of the city of David; but then, the Birket-es-Soulthan is the only piscina situated in the position pointed out by the sacred text. I am consequently of opinion that Schultz is correct in identifying the lower pool with the Birket-es-Soulthan.

The aqueduct bringing water into the city of which mention is made in the Book of Kings, is very likely no other in reality than the Qanât-el-Koufar, which conducted the water from the Bourak, and the fine springs of Etham. The truth is, that it is impossible at the present day to solve the problem of the history of the waters of Jerusalem. Whatever arrangement you try to adopt as an hypothesis, you stumble immediately upon a text which overthrows your imaginary plan. We must therefore be content to establish as many incontestible proofs as possible, leaving to time and more fortunate successors the task of throwing a new light on such points as we have not been able to understand.

We find in the description of the Jerusalem of the Crusades, the following passage, respecting the Birket-el-Soulthan, written in old French :—" * Quand on avoit avalé le mont si trouvoit-on 1 lai en la valée qu'on apeloit le lai germain, que Germain le fist faire pour recuiller les eaues qui descendoient des montagnes quant il pluvoit, et là abruvoit-on les chevaux de la cité. D'aultre part la valée, à main senestre, près d'illec, avoit le carnier qu'on apeloit Chaudemar." This description of the relative position of the German pool, and of the Chaudemar, or Haq-ed-damm, removes every possible doubt with regard to the identity of the Birket-es-Soulthan with the *lai germain.* Another mention of it is also made in a document, dated 1177, which is to be found in the records of the holy sepulchre, published in the *Assizes de Jerusalem.* † This is the passage. " Vinea quam dominus et pater meus . . . . Rex Amalricus, donavit ecclesiæ montis Syon, pro lacu Germani qui communis est usibus universæ civitatis."

A modern tradition, which does not deserve the slightest attention, supposes the Birket-es-Soulthan to be the place where Bathsheba was bathing, when David saw her from the top of his terrace. This tradition must be rejected at once, as no woman in the east ever bathes in a place open to all observers.

* As you descended the mountain, you found a pool in the valley which was called the German pool, because Germanus had it built to receive the waters that came down from the mountains when it rained; and this was the watering place for horses in the city. In the valley close by, to the left, was the charnel-house, called Chaudemar.—*Translator.*

† Vol. ii. p. 581, No. 48.

BIRKET-MAMILLAH—BIRKET-HAMMAM-EL-BATRAK.

As you leave Jerusalem by the Hebron gate, you perceive at a distance of a few hundred yards to the west-north-west, in a small low plain forming the head of the Valley of Hinnom, and occupied by a Mohammedan burying ground, a large cistern, or reservoir for rain-water, known under the name of Birket-Mamillah. This reservoir is in communication, by an aqueduct visible in some parts of the road leading to it, with another situated inside the town, near the Franciscan convent, and known under the name of Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak (the pool of the Baths of the Patriarchs).

The only positive mention of the Birket-Mamillah that we find in the writings of ancient authors, is the following. Josephus, when describing the approaches of Titus and his army against the city of Jerusalem,* tells us that the ground was levelled by the Roman legions, from the Scopus as far as the sepulchres of Herod, which are situated before the piscina called the piscina of the serpents. Schultz has very accurately ascertained that this piscina of the serpents could have been no other than the Birket-Mamillah, and I am completely of the same opinion.

Nehemiah (ii. 13,) mentions a "dragon well" (fountain of the serpents); and as it would be rather strange (at two periods with so short an interval between them as that of Nehemiah and Josephus), for two different fountains or piscinas to have borne the same name, I

* Bel. Jud. V. iii.

am rather disposed to identify both the "dragon well" and the piscina of the serpents with the Birket-Mamillah.

The following notice is taken of this piscina by the author of the description of the Jerusalem of the Crusades: "Dehors la porte avoit 1 lay par devers soleil couchant que on apeloit le lai du Patriarche, là où on recuilloit les eaues d'illec entour pour abevrer les chevos. Près de cil lai avoit un charnier que on apeloit le charnier du Lyon . . . et dessus ce charnier avait 1 moustier où on chantoit chascun jour près d'illeques."* It is most likely the church mentioned in this passage and dedicated to Saint Babilas, that has given its name to the Birket-Mamillah. In the pronunciation of the Syrian Arabs, the M and the B are constantly interchanged; for instance, with them the name Mâalbek is more current for the ancient Heliopolis, than that of Bâalbek. Medjr-ed-Dyn says on this point: "The word Mamillah seems to be an alteration of the phrase, 'ma min Allah' (what comes from God), or, according to another opinion, from Bab-Oullah (God's gate). The Jews calls this place Beth-Mello, and the Christians Babila. The ordinary name is Mamillah."

I have said that the Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak was connected by an aqueduct with the Birket-Mamillah; let us now see what information we can procure concerning this first pool (el-Batrak). The date of its

* Outside the gate there was a pool towards the setting sun, which was called the patriarch's pool; where the waters of the country round were collected for the purpose of watering the horses. And near this pool there was a charnel-house, which was called the charnel-house of the lion; and over this there was a church where people used to sing psalms every day.—*Translator.*

construction is absolutely unknown; Dr. Schultz, on comparing the texts, has conceived that he could identify it with the pool of Hezekiah, and at the same time with the Amygdalon of Josephus. Unfortunately both these identifications are inadmissible, as I think I shall be able to show. The piscina of Hezekiah was within the walls of the city, as the inclosure existed under his reign; the Scripture text is positive in regard to this point. But this is not the case with the Hammam-el-Batrak; which is inside the present city but outside the city of Hezekiah. Consequently the Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak cannot be the same as the pool of Hezekiah, properly so called.

Josephus only names the Amygdalon once in the following passage:* "The Romans who had begun their works of attack (χώματα, aggeres, mounds of earth raised for the purpose of placing the battering rams, and the war engines in a more commanding position, and of bringing the assailants as near as possible to the ramparts of the besieged place) on the 12th of the month of Artemisios, had scarcely finished them. On the 29th of the same month, having employed in this work seventeen whole days without interruption, four very large works had been raised at the same time; the first, directed against the fort of Antonia, was constructed by the fifth legion towards the middle of the piscina called Strouthion; the second, undertaken by the twelfth legion, was only about twenty cubits (less than twenty yards) distant from the first. The tenth legion, which working at a good distance from this

* Bel. Jud. V. xi. 4.

spot, was employed towards the northern portion of the city, near the piscina called Amygdalon (the almond). At a distance of about thirty cubits from this place, the fifteenth legion constructed their *agger* towards the tomb of the high-priest." (Without any doubt, that of the high-priest John, more explicitly mentioned in another passage which I have already quoted elsewhere.)

This important passage which seems to have escaped the notice of Schultz, makes the identification of the Amygdalon with the Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak quite inadmissible. And further, this same passage seems to me conclusive in favour of the identification of the Amygdalon with the old abandoned piscina hewn in the rock, and placed to the right as you go out from the Damascus gate, at the foot of the town walls. It is evident that the Romans were attacking on both flanks the salient angle, anciently occupied by the gate of Ephraim, and now by the Damascus gate. Any one who has seen Jerusalem knows how deeply hollow the passage is, leading forth from the very threshold of this gate. I have no doubt that the huge mounds flanking this passage, and which are evidently formed of earth brought there from a distance, are precisely the remains of the two *aggeres* raised on this spot by the Roman engineers under the orders of Titus. The earth that had been heaped up for this purpose has gone down a little in a long period of time, but as nobody ever thought of levelling the artificial hillocks formed by these mounds, they have remained of course in the position first given to them, and they are even

now flanking the point of attack so well described by the narrative of Josephus.

BIRKET-HAMMAM-SETTY-MARYAM ; BIRKET-EL-HIDJAH.

I shall merely mention these two small cisterns which are placed outside the present inclosure of Jerusalem. The first is situated, at the foot of the wall, to the left of the gate of Setty-Maryam, and the second at about a hundred paces to the left of the north-eastern angle of the present inclosure. We find in the description of the Jerusalem of the Crusades the following passage in antiquated French : "Près de la porte de Josaphat, à main sinistre, avoit une abeïe de nonnains, si avoit à nom Saincte-Anne. Devant cele abeïe avoit une fontaine que on apeloit la fontaine dessous la pecine. Cele fontaine ne quert point, ains estoit desure." * This *fountain, that does not flow, but is placed above the issue of the water*, still exists in the same spot, between the walls of the church of Saint Anne and the Birket-Israel, a few paces on this side of the gate of Setty Maryam. It is always dry, and there is no more water to be seen in it now than there was at the moment when the description was written, a passage from which I have just quoted.

* Near the gate of Jehoshaphat, on the left hand, was a convent of nuns, dedicated to St. Anne. In front of it was a fountain, called the fountain above the pool. This fountain does not flow, and therefore was unused.—*Translator.*

BETHESDA.—PISCINA PROBATICA.—BIRKET-ISRAÏL.—STROUTHION.

We have now arrived at one of the most important piscinas of the Holy City, and with abundant information as to its origin. In the north-eastern angle of the Haram-ech-Cherif, is to be seen a very large and deep pool, encumbered with filth, and known to the inhabitants of Jerusalem under the name of Birket-Israïl. We must go back through the middle ages to ancient times, to discover in the sacred and profane writings the history of this vast reservoir. But first let me say a few words concerning its construction. At the western extremity there are one or two arches, nearly entire, and covered with shrubs and creepers that conceal the entrance. The southern wall is faced with sharp rough masonry of small pattern, similar to Roman curbstones. Behind this stone coating, which has crumbled away in many places, you discover a different plan of building, composed of regular courses of large squared stones, measuring seventeen inches on each side, jointed in with much smaller ones. The reader may remember that I have already pointed out this mode of construction in the piscinas of El-Bireh, and in some of the buildings of Masada. I therefore consider this style of masonry as being contemporary at the very latest with Herod the Great.

Let us now see what authors of different periods tell us concerning this piscina. We read in the description of Jerusalem in the time of the Crusades:* "En cele

* In this fountain the angels came down in the time of Jesus Christ, and

fontaine au temps de Jhesu Christ descendoit li anges, et mouvoit li aues, et li premiers malades qui y descendoit après, estoit garis de s'infirmité. Cele fontaine avoit cinq porches où les malades gisoient si comme on dit."

William of Tyre tells us: "Usque hodie piscina probatica reputatur, in quâ olim, immolatitiæ lavabantur hostiæ." *

In the "Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Hierosolymam," † we read that in front of Saint Anne's Church is to be seen the cistern of Bethesda: "Veteris piscinæ vestigia retineat, quinque porticûs habens . . . ad quam nunc per porticum unam descenditur, et reperitur aqua ibi gusta amara."

Brocardus writes as follows: ‡ "Intrantibus portam vallis § ad sinistram occurrit, juxta viam, Probatica piscina, ad dextram vero contra eam, viâ intermediâ, ut piscina grandis valdè quæ dicebatur piscina interior; hanc fecit Ezechias." ‖

St. Jerome, in his translation of the "Onomasticon" of Eusebius, writes as follows: "Bethesda, piscina in Jerusalem quæ vocabatur Προβατικὴ, et à nobis interpretari potest pecualis; hæc quinque quondam porticus

made the waters flow, and the first sick people who went and bathed in it after that, were cured of their infirmities. This fountain had five porches where the sick used to lie down, according to tradition.—*Translator.*

* Vol. VIII. iv. p. 749. † Ed. de Bougart, p. 573.

‡ Description Terr. Sanct. apud Canisii. Thes. vol. iv. p. 18.

§ Let me remark that Brocardus calls this gate the gate of the valley, as I also think it ought to be called.

‖ When you enter by the gate of the valley, you find to your left, close to the road, the piscina probatica, and to their right, just opposite the probatica, with only the street between them, a very large piscina which was called the interior piscina, built by Hezekiah.

habuit, ostenduntúrque gemini lacus, quorum unus hybernis pluviis adimpleri solet : alter mirum in modum rubens, quasi cruentis aquis antiqui in se operis signa testatur. Nam hostias in eo lavari a sacerdotibus solitas ferunt, undè et nomen Προβατικὴ accepit."

The Pilgrim of Bordeaux states in his narrative that : "Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ, ad latus templi, id ut una ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram, quas Salomon fecit. Interius vero civitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares, quinque porticus habentes, quæ appellantur Bethsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur. Aquam autem habent hæ piscinæ in modum coccini turbatum."

Josephus, who fixes very clearly the position of the Antonia tower situated at the north-western angle of the inclosure of the Temple,* tells us that the hill placed in front of the Antonia tower, and called Bezetha, was divided from that fortress by a deep ditch, hollowed out by human labour.† In another passage,‡ he speaks of the *agger* which the Fifth Legion constructed against the Antonia tower by the middle of the piscina which was called Strouthion (ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίον . . . . κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας).

The Gospel of St. John mentions the Piscina Probatica in the second verse of the fifth chapter : Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρα, ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη Ἑβραιστὶ Βηθεσδὰ (alias Βηθσεδὰ), πέντε στοὰς ἔχουσα. "Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches."

* Bel. Jud. V. v. 8. † *Ibid.* V. iv. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* V. xi. 4.

It is curious to observe the extraordinary efforts made by commentators to understand this verse. Some of them have thought that προβατικῆ related to the word "market," understood without being expressed; others to the word "gate." All are equally unfortunate in their suppositions. It was the word κολυμβήθρα that should be expounded, and then everything would be quite clear. The two pools of St. John's Gospel were close to, and in communication with each other, probably by the vaulted arches which are still to be seen at the extremity of the Birket-Israïl. One of these pools was the Probatica, the other Bethesda.

Which of these two is the one that exists down to our days? This is very difficult to decide, but I am much inclined to believe it is Bethesda. St. Jerome evidently considers the Probatica and Bethesda as making only one, though he calls them "lacus gemellares," the two connected reservoirs. Nevertheless, I am not of opinion that the Strouthion of Josephus, the ditch hollowed out between Bezetha and the foot of the Antonia tower, should be considered as identical with the Probatica. This latter was probably situated between the two gates which are now opened in the northern face of the enclosure of the Haram-ech-Cherif, whilst the Strouthion must have been at some distance off, to the westward.

With regard to the Strouthion, it is very natural that it should have completely disappeared. Let us remember, indeed, that one of the four large *aggeres* of Titus passed by the middle of the Strouthion, and that the Jews, having undermined these entrenchments, caused

both rampart and counter-scarp to fall into the ditch, which evidently must have nearly filled it. Then came the destruction of the Antonia tower, after which no trace can have remained of the Strouthion. Respecting the name of this pool, it is nothing more than that of a plant which the lexicons call "*herba fullonum*," the fuller's grass. I shall not venture to identify it with any known plant.

I have now merely to transcribe a passage of Medjr-ed-Dyn to conclude my notice of the cisterns of the Holy City: "There are in Jerusalem six piscinas built by Ezekiel (read Hezekiah), one of the first kings of Israel. Three of the cisterns are inside the walls: the Birket-Israel, the cistern of Solomon, and the cistern of Ayad. The other three are on the outside; these are the Birket-Mamillah and the two called El-Merdj, which were built to serve as reservoirs for the city. The first of all, which is very celebrated, is to the northward of the mosque of El-Aksa, near the wall, by the gate of the Tribes and at the Bab-el-Hitta. It has a most majestic appearance. With regard to the two cisterns of Solomon and Ayad, I know not where they are." However, Medjr-ed-Dyn proposes afterwards to identify these two cisterns with the reservoir of the Hammam-ech-chefâ and the Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak. He adds that the piscina of Mamillah is known to every body, and that the two called El-Merdj are situated near the village of Ourtas at the distance of half a parasang, from whence their waters were brought by pipes to Jerusalem.

THE TOWER OF DAVID.—THE TOWER HIPPICUS.

We read in Josephus: *—"The tower Hippicus, which Herod had so called in remembrance of his friend, was a quadrangular structure, twenty-five cubits long on each side, and thirty cubits high; it was massive. Above this solid mass was a wall, twenty cubits high, intended as a reservoir for rain water. Over this again was a house (οἶκος) having two stories, twenty-five cubits high, with its surface inlaid with Mosaic work (εἰς ποικιλα διηρημένος) crowned by a parapet two cubits in height, surmounted by battlements of three cubits. So that the whole tower reached an altitude of eighty cubits." After the sack of Jerusalem, this magnificent building was preserved by order of Titus.† On this subject Josephus writes as follows:—"When the soldiers found no more persons to kill, Cæsar ordered his legions to raze the city and the Temple to their foundations, but to respect the towers that surpassed all the others in height, such as Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamne, and that part only of the enclosure wall that covered the town to the westward, to serve as a protection to the garrison which it was necessary to leave there. The towers were preserved merely as memorials to future generations of the flourishing and powerful city which Roman valour had succeeded in subduing."

The description given by Josephus of the base of the tower Hippicus, is perfectly applicable to the tower of David, which is twenty-one yards broad; which gives nearly the twenty-five cubits attributed to it by

* Bel. Jud. V. iv. 3. † Bel. Jud. VII. i. 1.

Josephus. Consequently there is not the shadow of a doubt to be entertained concerning the identity of these two military structures. Only Josephus left it to be understood that it was Herod the Great who built the tower Hippicus from the basis to the summit, which is not admissible. The massive tower of David, with its courses of enormous blocks in bossage, belongs unquestionably to the era of the kings of Judah, and most probably to the period of Solomon, or of David himself, whose name it bears from immemorial time.

The following passage is from the author of the description of the Jerusalem of the Crusades :—"La porte David estoit vers soleil couchant, et estoit à la droite des portes obres (Golden Gate), qui estoient vers soleil levant, de derriere le temple Domini. Cele porte tenoit à la tour David (the original text says joining the gate of David, evidently a mistake of the transcriber, and very easily corrected). Quant on estoit devant cette porte, si tournoit on à main destre, en une rue par devant la tour David. . . . la grant rue qui aloit de la tour David droit aux portes oires, apeloit on la rue David jusqu' au chainge, à main senestre. Devant la tour David avoit une grande place où on vendoit le blé."* All these details, without exception, are still very nearly exact at the present day.

Medjr-ed-Dyn mentions the tower of David when

* The gate of David was towards the west, and on the right of the golden gate, which was situated towards the east, behind the Temple of the Lord. This gate joined the tower of David. When you were in front of this gate, you turned to the right hand, to a street before the tower of David,—the great street which runs from the tower of David to the golden gate, called the street of David, to the exchange on the right. Before the tower of David was a large square where they sold corn.

speaking of the citadel of Jerusalem :—" There is to be seen in it," says he, "a large tower, called the tower of David, which was built by Solomon. . . . The Franks and Greeks erected a few buildings in the citadel, during the time they were masters of Jerusalem." This castle was, without doubt, the residence of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, and I need produce only one proof of my statement, which is that many coins of these monarchs are still in existence, and that they all bear the impression of the tower of David. One of these coins, a sample of which is to be seen in the collection of medals of the Imperial Library, has no other legend than this, TVRRIS DAVID. And certainly no body will pretend that any money, except royal money, could have been coined in the tower of David.

In short, the base of the tower Hippicus and the present tower of David are exactly coincident, and all the texts agree in thoroughly establishing this topographical point of ancient Jerusalem.

ARCADE OF THE ECCE HOMO.

During our two first sojourns in Jerusalem, I had, of course, often traversed the Via Dolorosa (the name of the street leading to the Bab-Setty-Maryam) on my way to the valley of Jehoshaphat, there to examine at leisure the monuments and curious relics which abound in that direction. I felt strangely disappointed on being shown for the first time, as the arcade of the Ecce Homo, a gate under which the public road passes. This gate, surmounted by two small square windows, evidently of recent construction, had been rendered nearly

ogival by a coarse Turkish plastering which completely covers it. I thought myself quite justified in rejecting the Christian tradition, and in contradicting the identification of this arcade, so apparently modern, with the arcade of the Ecce Homo.

I had fully made up my mind not to bestow any portion of my time upon this gate, and not even to mention it in my diary, when the tremendous event of the beginning of February, which caused nearly forty houses to fall in, in the different quarters of the city, enabled me to alter my opinions in this respect. One evening when we had resolutely ventured through the rain to spend a few hours with our friend M. Botta, just as our attendants were lighting their torches, to conduct us back to the Casa-Nuova, a noise like a heavy rolling was heard in the distance, precisely in the direction of the Via Dolorosa. "Another house tumbling down!" observed our people, and we returned quietly home, without bestowing any more attention upon an accident, which, for the last few days, had been so often repeated, that we had become proof against the natural emotion which it would otherwise have inspired.

The next morning, as I was proceeding to the tombs in the valley, to prosecute my researches, I was much surprised to find the Via Dolorosa encumbered for a space of twenty yards before reaching the arcade of the Ecce Homo; the left side wall resting upon this arcade had fallen on the preceding evening, tearing along with it the thick covering of plaster under which the original face had been buried. When thus disengaged from its modern coating, the arcade immediately resumed its

real character, a character which it was impossible to mistake. I then found myself in front of a fine circularly arched gate, dating positively from the early empire, and constructed in very superior style, of huge blocks, similar to those forming the ancient wall, which is to be seen a little beyond, and still to the left, of the Via Dolorosa, under a long vault with a single opening, for the purpose of giving light, to a small Mussulman burying-ground. This wall, which is also somewhat similar in point of style to that which surrounds, near the Holy Sepulchre, the ancient hospital of the Knights Templars, is considered by tradition as one of the walls of the palace of Pilate. I do not intend to inquire what this tradition may be worth; but this I can positively assert, that a wall of this kind is of the highest antiquity.

Let us return to the arcade of the Ecce Homo. The Roman gate, the existence of which had just been revealed to me by a providential accident, was then connected with the wall of Pilate's palace, and this palace, at the spot where its remains are visible, was evidently in contact with the Antonia tower. The double tradition thus became at once, in my opinion, a very admissible one. From that moment I have ceased to entertain the slightest doubt, and unless the contrary shall be proved to me, I now firmly believe, and shall continue in the belief, that the arcade of the Ecce Homo is legitimately entitled to that name.

As I naturally could not give up the work I was already engaged in, and as the term of our stay in Jerusalem was at hand, for we were only waiting for a

gleam of the sun to resume our journey, my friend, the Abbé Michon, was kind enough to undertake the drawing of the arcade of the Ecce Homo, and owing to his kind assistance, I am now able to publish a correct plan of this gate so eminently interesting.

As I have already said, it is a semi-circular arch of eighteen feet in diameter, and consequently has a radius of nine feet. A simple arched vault, the moulding of which is formed of a narrow fillet, a wide ogee, and a plat-band of the same breadth, ornaments the arcade and falls upon a cornice formed of two fillets divided by an ogee. The crumbling down of the facing had brought into light a semicircular arched niche contrived in the pier, and about four feet high, by sixteen inches broad. The centre of this niche rests upon two jutting portions of cornice, forming a console of the same profile as that which supports the foot of the great arch. And, lastly, the depth of the arcade in a line parallel with the axis of the street is seven feet and a half. The gate is, as I have already said, crowned by a miserable modern construction, and all the portion on the right hand is mixed up in the walls of a small abandoned Christian church. With regard to the posterior face, unfortunately it had not been disengaged by the fall which had carried away the outward coating of the front.

St. John, in chap. xix. of his gospel, when relating the cruel scene of which this arcade was the theatre, merely says that Pilate went forth outside (ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν ἔξω) with Christ, to say to the crowd, Ἴδε ὁ ἄνθρωπος, *Ecce homo*, "Behold the man!" (verse 5). In verse 14, the evangelist makes use of the word βῆμα,

gallery, to designate the place upon which Christ was led, for the second time, by Pilate, who, by showing him to the Jews in the dreadful state to which the tortures he had already endured had reduced him, hoped to awaken in them some feeling of compassion. This gallery was situated in the place called λιθόστροτος (the mosaïc pavement), and in Hebrew γαββαθᾶ (most probably from the word גב, plural גבות, meaning *arch*). It is very possible that the arch in question, belonging to the palace of Pilate, answered in effect the purpose of a gallery, or tribune, on the occasions when the Roman governor had to harangue the people. However it may be, I maintain that the arcade of the Ecce Homo is contemporary with the events of our Lord's Passion.

Friday, February 21*st*, 1851.

I have finished the examination of all the ancient monuments which I had leisure to study during my three different sojourns in Jerusalem. No doubt many readers will think I have devoted too many pages to tedious discussions concerning ruins which they may be disposed to consider as being of small importance. But I cannot, I confess, coincide with this severe judgment. When treating of a city like Jerusalem, the birth-place of our religious faith and the scene of the greatest event that ever took place upon earth, I cannot allow that a conscientious discussion of a point the most trifling in appearance, can ever be considered as superfluous. To those who think so, I reply: Shut up my book, it was not written for you. To those who approve of my endeavours to throw light upon facts that were

still buried in obscurity, I will say: Do as I have done; go and examine for yourselves; lay aside readily, preconceived theories, fancifully elaborated in the corner of a study. The best descriptive book that ever was written is not worth an hour spent in reconnoitring the ground. If, however, your circumstances will not allow you to do so, be thankful to the traveller who, without any prejudices, without any system chosen before-hand, has encountered fatigue and danger, to gather a harvest of facts which he now gives to the public, in the hope that they may be fairly discussed of course, and interpreted honestly, but also that they may be received with some little sentiment of gratitude.

Now that, I trust, I have sufficiently justified the length of my archæological studies relating to Jerusalem—studies which I deeply regret not having had it in my power to carry to a still greater extent—I hasten to resume the narrative of my journey.

The days we have passed at the Casa-Nuova have been most wearisome. The rain—and such rain as is to be found only in Judæa—has during nearly the whole time confined us to our apartments. On every opportunity, when the clouds appeared to be dividing a little, we tried to sally forth with note-book, pencil, and measuring-line in hand, to visit some monument we had not yet seen, or to complete our former studies by procuring some essential additional measurements which we had omitted at first. The reader will observe that rain is not always a circumstance to be regretted in Jerusalem; without the rain we should never have discovered the value of the arch of the Ecce Homo. We

had, therefore, not much reason to complain; and yet, the cold and damp to which we were constantly exposed had so annoyed us, that we had kept our luggage in readiness for the last few days, and were only waiting for the first gleam of sunshine to make our escape from what we considered a prison.

Yesterday, in the afternoon, the weather cleared up a little; in the evening, when we went to the Consulate, the stars were shining in the heavens so brightly as to inspire our hearts with joy. The anxiously-desired moment was then arrived at last; I gave the order for departure, and the whole caravan of moukris and horses received injunctions to hold themselves in readiness by nine o'clock on the following morning, to take us up at M. Botta's, whom we were anxious to shake cordially by the hand for the last time before leaving the Holy City, most likely for ever.

A few days before, three travellers from Egypt had arrived in Jerusalem, and we had formed a rapid and intimate acquaintance with these gentlemen, as is generally the case when people happen to meet some thousand miles distant from their own country. It is true, we had chanced to fall in with men to whom the title of friend is readily given with pleasure, and without any apprehension of regret: these were M. Delille, an old field-officer of cavalry; M. Hubean, professor of history in one of the first lyceums of Paris; and the Baron Wolf, a captain in the Russian army. These three gentlemen had shared with us the annoyance of being shut up by the rains in the convent cells; like ourselves, they had determined to make

their escape with the first ray of the sun, and we had settled to travel together as far as Nazareth, where we were to separate. Our departure in company had been decided on as soon as proposed, and it was mutually agreed that we should meet the next morning by nine o'clock at the Damascus gate, and that the first arrivals should wait for the last comers.

I need not, I suppose, describe the joy of the whole party, or rather I should say of all but one; for the Abbé's eyes are red, as he has been crying and praying the greater part of the night at the thought of leaving Jerusalem. The rain has never stopped him for a moment; he has gone on with his persevering examination of the muddiest corners of the town, as if the weather had been the finest in the world; and his love for the Holy City has increased every day. He asks us with perfect simplicity now and then, what a man can possibly wish for when he has the good fortune to dwell in Jerusalem? And we invariably answer him, with most touching unanimity, but with less sincerity than boast, that the only thing he can possibly desire in such a city, is to be five hundred miles away from it.

The sun is radiant; the sky of that beautiful blue peculiar to the Syrian and Egyptian climate; but some small white clouds, like snow-flakes wafted by the wind, are still hurrying past at rather too much of a racing speed for us to suppose that the fine weather will continue very long. But there is no use in thinking of the rain in prospect. We shall have plenty of time to despond when we encounter it, if we do,—but we still hope we may escape.

By seven o'clock in the morning we were all up and ready; I mean the men, of course! But not one of the saddle and luggage horses, or of the moukris, had made his appearance. After having, as usual, taken our light breakfast before starting, we become impatient, and in the meanwhile proceed to the French Consulate; we have half an hour to bestow upon our friends, and after that we hope to take our leave in good earnest. The reader will easily guess that this half hour was turned into an hour and a half, but for once at least, thanks to our company, though waiting, we passed our time most agreeably. M. Botta proposes to accompany us some distance on the road to Naplouse, to retard a little the moment of separation, and we accept with gratitude this agreeable offer. Ten o'clock has struck; the horses of the consul and of one of his kaouas have been pawing the ground in the street for the last hour; our three new travelling companions must feel rather annoyed at our want of punctuality, if they have been waiting all this time at the Damascus gate. At last our horses make their appearance; our luggage has gone on before; so we hasten to vault into our saddles, and put ourselves "*en route!*"

At the Damascus gate we find neither Frenchmen nor Russian! Our three friends have no doubt been subjected to the same trouble and annoyance as ourselves, at which we are not surprised; for we know by experience what travelling is in Syria. As we propose halting for the night at Sindjil, half way to Naplouse, we have no time to lose, and therefore we push on straight before us. In a few minutes we have

passed the Qbour-el-Molouk, and have reached the Scopus. Very often we turn our heads to throw a last parting look upon Jerusalem. As we proceed at a good pace, we soon left behind us the Ouad-Atarah and the two ancient ruined forts that defended the entrance and the issue of this defile. The first, which is placed on the Jerusalem side, is called Kharbet-Atarah. The second ruin is named Tel-Atarah, standing half way down the declivity to the left as you proceed from the defile. Which of these localities is the site of the ancient Atarath or Ataroth-adar of the tribe of Benjamin? I cannot say; but certainly it must be one of the two. We observe again, to the right and left of our road, Chafâh, Tell-el-Foul, Er-Ram, Khouraïb-er-Ram, and El-Bireh.

Our excellent friend, M. Botta, could not in conscience accompany us as far as Sindjil; we therefore halted a little beyond Er-Ram; his kaouas, who had brought the necessary provisions, contrived to light a small fire of brambles, and prepared our coffee. We smoked the parting tchibouk, and after a cordial embrace, went on our different ways, with a slight depression of the heart, as at least I may vouch for myself. During our halt, we obtained some information of our three missing companions. Their luggage had preceded us; but a quarter of an hour afterwards, we saw it turning back on its way to Jerusalem. What can be the reason of this strange counter-march? Nobody could tell us. These gentlemen were in such a hurry to be off, that the thing seems to be unaccountable.

The reader may perhaps remember that on our first

passage through El-Bireh, night had already closed in for nearly two hours, when we reached our resting-place. The road I had just been travelling from Jerusalem was perfectly familiar to me; but from El-Bireh to Sindjil, everything was new. Consequently, no sooner had we passed El-Bireh, than I resumed my former habits of observation and inquiry. The ground is all along very marshy; near Khouraïb-er-Ram especially, we have been wading through actual bogs, out of which we have, however, contrived to scramble without accident, though with some little precaution. The vegetation begins to be very fine; we see at every step fine bunches of gigantic anemones in full blossom. Their flower is exactly the pattern of our national cockade, with regard to the distribution of the colours, with merely this difference, that the purple zone occupies at least three-quarters of the length of the petals.

One hour later, after a few minutes' halt by a fine spring, for the purpose of watering our horses, we reach once more the territory of Beitin, the Beth-el of Scripture. The road passes directly over the foundations of walls built with enormous blocks, and consequently of the highest antiquity. The present appearance of Beitin is extremely miserable. Some ruinous and deserted huts, and some remains of the walls of a church, situated at the southern extremity of the village, are all that can be descried from the road. This road passes over a very strange looking ledge of country, upon which are to be seen rocks assuming such fantastic outlines, that I asked myself seriously if nature alone had given them

these forms. Some of these rocks are shaped like monstrous mushrooms, others resemble galleries on a platform. I persuade myself that if this strange locality were examined at leisure, evidences would soon be found that the hand of man has left its mark there. But at what period? Heaven only knows?

The first name of this town was Luz, according to Genesis (xxviii. 19). It belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, but was on the frontier of the tribe of Benjamin.* "And the border went over towards Luz, to the side of Luz, which is Beth-el, southward; and the border descended to Ataroth-adar, near the hill that lieth on the south side of the nether Beth-horon." The book of Joshua (xvi. 2) also describing the northern limit of Joseph, says:—"And it goeth out from Beth-el to Luz, and passeth along into the borders of Archi to Ataroth." This last verse seems very clearly to mention Luz and Beth-el as two distinct localities; yet Genesis (xxviii. 19) expressly says:—"And he (Jacob) called the name of that place Beth-el, but the name of that city was called Luz at the first." Rosenmüller has endeavoured to remove this difficulty, by supposing that the place where Jacob slept, and which he called Beth-el, was in the neighbourhood of Luz and not in Luz itself. This is very possible; and I would rather accept this interpretation than admit any apparent contradiction in the sacred text.

I must observe also, that the modern name of Beitin is identically the same as the ancient one, Beth-el, owing to the frequent and habitual permutation of the *Lamed*

* Joshua, xviii. 13.

into *Noun*, and *vice versâ*, in the pronunciation and writing of the Arabs.

It was at Beth-el that the celebrated prophetic dream of Jacob took place.* His grandfather Abraham† had already encamped to the eastward of Beth-el, on the mountain, and had raised there an altar to Jehovah. Beth-el was one of the places where Samuel went from year to year to govern the people of Israel.‡ Jeroboam placed there a golden calf.§ He established a festival in honour of this idol, offered sacrifices himself before it, and instituted in Beth-el a college of priests (Verse 32). A prophet then came, and cried out:‖—"O altar! altar! thus saith the Lord. Behold: a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee." Jeroboam, stretching forth his hand, was about commanding them to seize the prophet, and at this moment his hand was withered; but, the prophet having prayed for him, he recovered the use of it forthwith. It was this same prophet, who, having disobeyed the express command of the Lord, in accepting bread and water from another prophet who lived in Beth-el, was killed by a lion on the road as he was returning to his home.¶ We read in the Second Book of Kings** how the prophecy was literally accomplished by the King of Judah, Josiah.

After the captivity, Beth-el was peopled again by

* Genesis. xxviii. 12, 15. † *Ibid.* xii. 8.
‡ 1 Samuel, vii. 16. § 1 Kings, xii. 29. ‖ 1 Kings, xiii. 2.
¶ 1 Kings, xiii. 24. ** 2 Kings, xxiii. 15, 16.

the Jews who returned from Babylon.* Beth-el was fortified by Bacchides, in the time of the Maccabees,† and taken by Vespasian in the expedition, in the course of which he subdued Gophnitia and Acrabatene. ‡ This prince established a garrison there before marching upon Jerusalem. Eusebius tells us that Beth-el is at the twelfth mile-stone on the road leading from Jerusalem to Sichem (or Naplouse), and this measurement seems perfectly correct. The Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem mentions this town under the name of Bethar. Here is the text:—"Inde (à Neapoli) millia xxviii., euntibus Hierusalem, in parte sinistrâ est villa, quæ dicitur Bethar (aliàs Beth-el); inde Hierusalem M. xii." It appears from this that the Pilgrim, who was a contemporary of Eusebius, adopts the same reckoning. And, lastly, St. Jerome tells us in the Onomasticon, at the word Agaï:—"Bethel . . . . usque hodiè parvus licet sicut ostenditur." After that it is no where else mentioned by the writers of the middle ages. The Rev. Dr. Robinson, who has thoroughly studied the ruins of Beitin, is, nevertheless, convinced that this city recovered some importance after the time of St. Jerome, and most probably at the period of the Crusades.

On leaving Beth-el, we proceeded by very bad roads to the Ouad-el-Tayebeh, which we crossed before, following, for the second time, throughout its whole extent, the Ouad-el-Haramieh. This last valley is now covered with beautiful flowers, and some corners of

* Esdras, ii. 28; Nehemiah vii. 32; xi. 31.
† 1 Macc. ix. 50; Jos. Ant. Jud. i. 3. ‡ Bel. Jud. IV. ix. 9.

land, sown by the hand of nature, look like *parterres* planted with anemones and ranunculi, whose variegated colours blend in the most agreeable manner. We perceive once more, as we pass, the sepulchral caves, which are more numerous on one side of the valley than on the other; then the ancient cisterns of the Ayn-el-Haramieh, and find ourselves again, after having crossed the ouad, between the villages of Yabroud and Selouad. A little beyond Yabroud, we begin to climb, on the flank of a steep hill, an acclivity rather difficult for our horses, and this takes us, as night closes in, to the village of Sindjil; a miserable hamlet, built in the shape of an amphitheatre, on the summit of the mountain that flanks to the southward, the large and beautiful valley leading to Tourmous-Aya and to Seiloun, the ancient Silo.

Our luggage has arrived before us, and by dint of scrambling over a few terraces of houses, and threading through the narrow lanes dividing the habitations, we succeed at last in alighting before the dwelling where we are to receive hospitality for the night. This is a filthy place, on a par with the very worst we had met with in the Arab villages. But we are now inured to campaigning, and so glad to be on the march again, that the miserable hole in which we are condemned to pass the night, seems to us much more agreeable than our cells in the Casa-Nuova. Ungrateful beings that we are! But patience! It will not be long before we are sufficiently punished, and in a few hours we shall know how to rate our abode and its population at their real value.

Whilst we were traversing the Ouad-el-Haramieh, I saw a sample of Arab practice in the way of hatred. I had been observing for some minutes a number of olive and fig-trees, the bark of which had been very neatly bared all round, so as to form a zone about the breadth of a man's hand. The ground on the right of the road presented this spectacle along a pretty considerable extent; evidently these poor trees were doomed to die. I asked Matteo what might have been the occasion of such an act of barbarity. "Such is often the practice in our country," said he; "if a man has a spite against another, he immediately destroys his trees. It is true that the owner of the trees tries to find out the destroyer, and enjoys the satisfaction of killing him if he can find him. . . . . But here," added he, "there are so many trees injured, that it seems to me probable that the deed must be the result of a feud between two villages. A single man, nay ten men, could never have done all this in one night; a whole population must have set to it in earnest. But now you may be sure that shots will follow upon this! Before long, other things will die besides the trees." The reader will suppose that I listened with lively interest to this explanation of a fact which gave me a pretty clear insight into Arab intelligence and neighbourly kindness.

Our abode is again divided into two stories. The upper room is disposed for our special use, and destined for lodging and sleeping; the lower one answers the purpose of a kitchen, store-room for luggage, dining-room and bed-room for our followers. Altogether there

is little to choose between the two,—the fleas of Sindjil are well practised in their vocation. All this implies that we passed a wretched night. As if to increase our vexation, just as we were falling asleep, towards two o'clock in the morning, we were awoke by a hollow noise as of a blow, immediately followed by a shriek, and painful moanings. Every one of us leaped from his bed to enquire what was the matter. It was our faithful André who had been nearly stunned to death by the following accident. The door of our dwelling, being used for all purposes, had no hinges; the Arab who had let us our lodgings, intending to close them against intruders, had ingeniously placed this movable door against the opening, laying at the same time a huge stone above it, for the purpose of driving the foot of the door into the mud of the threshold so as to complete a system of closing. André had suddenly taken it into his head to enjoy a walk by moonlight rather than remain on a sleepless bed, and had drawn the door towards him in the usual manner of opening, when the stone, held in equilibrium above, fell down upon his cranium in the first instance, then on his nose and left cheek, bruising and severely wounding him on all these places. André's present misadventure was really a serious one, and he might have been killed on the spot. The Abbé administered every possible relief to the wounded man, washed the sores with fresh water, and covered them with large patches of English sticking-plaister. This alarm having subsided, we composed ourselves to rest once more, relieved of all anxiety with regard to the consequences of an accident,

painful no doubt, but less serious than it might have proved.

The next morning, I must confess, I took my share in an ill-timed pleasantry. When we saw the long figure of André with his red accoutrements, his forehead, his nose, and his cheek, striped with black patches, we all burst out laughing. Never in any carnival had I seen a more ridiculous appearance, and on beholding him, compassion could certainly only succeed merriment: at least such was the case with us whenever we looked at him during the remainder of our journey.

A few hundred yards further on, towards the west, we passed ruins bearing the name of Kharbet Sindjil. As I did not visit them I am unable to say of what they may consist. When was this village removed from its primitive situation? Has it been really removed? or what is the ancient locality of which the present village merely occupies a part of the original site? All these questions I am unable to answer.

February 22nd.

This morning, by halfpast eight of o'clock, we left Sindjil and proceeded in the direction of Naplouse, where we expect to arrive early in the day. The entire caravan is in good condition, with the exception of André, who has a dejected appearance with his blistered face. The poor fellow must have received a tremendous blow to be reduced in such a state; however he keeps up his spirits, and is not the last of the party to mount his horse.

On leaving Sindjil, we get into a road even more steep than the one by which we arrived there last evening. It resembles a zigzag ladder pitching us down into the bottom of the valley. Before we are there, I cease to regret the danger of the descent, for I discover in this place some courses of an ancient monument, built of enormous blocks, exactly similar to those of the Solomonian walls of Jerusalem. As I have already stated with reference to the Jerusalem blocks, the joints are framed in all round by a large chiselled cordon, which gives them the appearance of stones cut in bossage. The Arabs of Sindjil who have followed us from curiosity to the bottom of the valley, can give me no certain information with regard to this ruin, to which they assign no other name than that of El-Hammam, meaning "the warm water-spring or the bath." To the left of the ruin, are two wells hewn out of the rock.

Leaving Seiloun on our right, we cross the line of hills intersecting our road, and pass for the second time close to the Khan-el-Loubban and its cistern. The bottom of the valley where the khan is built, is now covered with the most lovely green-sward, and the fields which the people were only sowing two months since, are in full vegetation, and give every promise of a splendid crop. Here again, as in all the low grounds we have crossed, the rains have so saturated the soil, that our poor horses have much trouble in passing over without sinking. From the Khan-el-Loubban, by continuing to follow from the opposite direction the road we are already acquainted with, having traversed it on our journey to Jerusalem, we halt as on the former occasion

for breakfast close to the ruins of the Khan-es-Saouyeh.

Our meal is soon despatched, and in half an hour we are on the march again. We then climb the double range of high hills still dividing us from the wide and beautiful valley that takes us to Naplouse. The ascent and descent, both rather difficult, which we are obliged to get over, bear a name which for once I obtain from our moukris; it is the Akbat-Zatarah, or Djatarah. In this place are some ruins which I had passed without remark on my first journey. They are probably the remains of fortified posts, as they consist of walls made of very large blocks, intercepting the road; and of two square enclosures of the same construction, which are to be seen at a certain distance from each other, to the right of the road. It would be very curious, no doubt, to study these ruins thoroughly, and to find out if possible to what ancient locality the modern name Djatarah can be referred. I am not at present aware of any, and am inclined to see in this name a corruption of the Hebrew word *Djadar* or *Djadarah*, which means enclosure, wall, or place fortified by a wall. This name accords so perfectly with the description of ruins situated in this difficult defile of the Akbat-Djatarah that I have scarcely a doubt concerning the admissibility of my hypothesis. Supposing it to be correct, the inference is that the Akbat-Djatarah was defended by a small fortress, the construction of which might possibly be referred to the kings of Israel, who were often at war with the kings of Judah.

I consider likewise, as being military constructions,

(if not of the same period, at least of a period almost equally remote), the two ruins facing each other which are to be seen on the flanks of the beautiful valley into which the pass of the Akbat-Djatarah descends. One of these is placed to the left, a little to the southward of the village of Haouara: the other, exactly opposite to Haouara, is a square ruin of considerable importance, constructed of hewn stone, regularly arranged, and apparently of an early period. As I have no doubt that it is a fine specimen of ancient architecture, and well worth studying, I recommend it to the attention of future travellers.

The bottom of the valley was so muddy throughout, that we deserted the road winding along the lower part of it, to follow another path, across the fields, used more commonly, and in the rainy season, on the left-hand side. Having thus gained the flank of the Gerizim, we enter on a shorter, but much more difficult road, than that which crosses the plain by Jacob's Well, and then passing through green fields covered with beautiful daffodils in flower, we reach, rather early in the day, the delightful valley of Sichem, or Naplouse. Everything here is verdant, blooming, and well supplied with streams of pure water. This valley is a delightful spot, and I can easily understand the marked predilection with which it was always regarded by the patriarchs of old.

Naplouse appears to great advantage when you are returning from sombre and melancholy Jerusalem. It is true that Naplouse is still muddy and filthy, its population fanatical and insolent, but there is

motion, industry, some appearance of life; and, by comparison, we find it positively charming. Proceeding through streets which have become canals, with torrents of water running through them, we alight again at the same quarters where we stationed ourselves on our former visit. As before, we were received with marked civility, and propose to halt here for two or three days.

February 22nd.

We have ordered our horses at eight o'clock in the morning, with the purpose of visiting Sebastieh, which has succeeded Samaria, the capital of the kings of Israel. After our excellent night's rest, we feel refreshed and in spirits, and the excursion before us is so short, that we anticipate a delightful day, although a busy one. The weather is beautiful; not a cloud in the sky: and the sun so powerful that we must take care not to expose ourselves too much to its influence.

As usual, we were delayed an hour, and it was nine o'clock when we issued from the gate of Naplouse; then, crossing an extensive slough formed by a wide and rapid stream, we proceed to the right flank of the valley of Sichem. Having gained this side, we pass some magnificent orchards already covered with fragrant flowers, and proceed along the valley of Sichem, descending to the westward in the direction of the sea.

At the distance of a mile and a half from Naplouse, we pass a fine spring, called Ayn-beit-Iba, covered over by an ancient vaulted cistern, of Grecian, or at least, of Roman, architecture, of the higher period. The fine rivulet, on the right bank which we have

followed from Naplouse, becomes further on a considerable river, called on the Mediterranean coast the Maïet-et-Temsah (the Water of the Crocodiles), before it empties itself into the sea, when it receives the name of Nahr-Arsouf. Strabo mentions a Κροκοδείλων πόλις, which he places between Aké and the tower of Strato. "Between these two stations" says he, "is to be found Mount Carmel, and nothing else except some names of cities (πολιχνίων), such as Sycaminonpolis, Boucolon, and Krokodeilônpolis." Probably this last was situated near the pool, which still bears the name of Maïet-et-Temseh. Did crocodiles ever exist in this pool?—It seems not improbable. Are there still any of these reptiles to be found there?—I imagine not; and they must have been destroyed, no doubt, at a very remote period.

Let us return to the route from Naplouse to Sebastieh. Shortly after having passed before the Ayn-beit-Iba, you begin to ascend the right flank of the valley, to proceed to the village of Zaouata, situated on the summit, and to the left of which the road passes. In front of the position corresponding to that of Zaouata, but on the left flank of the valley of Sichem, stands the village of Rafidiah. This name, somewhat resembles in sound that of Rabbith (a city of the tribe of Issachar, mentioned in Joshua xix. 20); but unfortunately the ground upon which Rafidiah is built, never (that I can ascertain) belonged to that particular tribe. Resemblance of denomination, therefore, is not in this case to be relied upon.

Beyond Rafidiah, to the westward, is a second

village, called Beit-Iba. The identity of the name of this village with that of a fountain placed at such a distance from it, induces me to suppose that I have been imposed upon by the moukri from whom I received the name of the fountain. Seeing before him a village so called, that circumstance very possibly suggested to him the idea of applying the same appellation to the fountain, merely with the object of answering my question, and to show that he was not a dunce. I think there is sufficient cause for doubt, and with all due humility I leave the point to be decided by such travellers as may hereafter visit the fountain and village. Higher up than Beit-Iba, and still on the left flank of the fine valley of Sichem, is to be seen the village of Beit-Ouazan; and lastly, higher still than Beit-Ouazan, but on a mountain situated behind, appears a locality called Qalaát-el-Djeneh. I search in vain for any ancient name to identify with these modern designations.

After having reached the village of Zaouata, you descend immediately into a valley of no great depth, where you find the rivulet called Nahr-Zaouata; then you mount again the opposite flank, and after having crossed a stony ridge, you enter immediately a delightful but narrow valley, beautifully situated, and planted with olive-trees, bearing directly west-north-west. On its right flank stands an oualy, or Mussulman chapel, called Scheikh-Cháaly, commanding this valley, the name of which is Khallet-el-Kenisah (the pit of the church). The valley is scarcely a hundred yards long, and is closed in by woody hills, on the top of which,

to the left, is to be seen the village of En-Nakourah. Close by this village the valley turns to the north, and ends almost immediately at the village of Sebastieh, the ruined church of which, exactly resembling a ruined church in Normandy, has certainly given its name to the Khallet-el-Kenisah. To end our description of this delightful little valley, I must add, that there you may fancy yourself a thousand miles away from the capital of Israel, and wandering in a glen of the Pyrenees. A wide rivulet, meandering in successive cascades, through fine trees and fields covered with verdure, takes its rise a few yards off, at the very foot of the mound upon which there still remains standing a tall fragment of a wall of St. John's Church. A plentiful spring forms in that identical spot a pool, the overflow of which runs off by the rivulet. To sum up all, Sebastieh presents, at the moment when we first reach it, an embellished miniature of Saint-Bertrand-de Comminges.

The inhabitants of the village of Sebastieh are disposed to be impertinent and rude towards all people they are not afraid of; but if travellers are well armed and show no inclination to put up with insults, these gentry soon become exceedingly polite and obliging, and you may select from amongst them guides in abundance. We speak from our experience of this morning. As a general observation, by bestowing a few piastres in the right time as opportunity offers, and by showing that you only give them because such is your pleasure, you are pretty sure to be well received every where, even in Sebastieh, and even in Naplouse, a city

which has obtained deservedly the worst possible reputation for the impudence and fanaticism of its inhabitants.

After having ascended the gentle slopes leading to the level of the platform upon which the Christian church of Sebastieh was erected, we alight from our horses, and leaving them to the care of Matteo and Saïd, proceed through the narrow lanes dividing the houses of the village towards the Gothic ruin we had noticed from a distance, and which so strongly reminded us of our beloved France. A few sour looks are cast on us as we pass along, but some amicable expressions in Mohammed's peculiar style, and the sight of our double-barrelled guns and pistols, soon produced the effect of a magician's rod, converting bears into sheep. We pause therefore without heeding any one, wherever a wall offers some curious remains of architecture worthy of examination and a sketch. Below the level of the ancient church, is a kind of mosque, close to which are sitting the imam, an old man with a venerable aspect, and a few of his aged flock. We bow to them in a polite and obliging manner, and upon our so doing, these worthy Mussulmen, surprised to find people having the power to command respect, still showing respect to them, and speaking in their own language, immediately make friends with us. From this moment we may ramble in any direction we please, and all faces smile on us with polite attention wherever we pass.

The church, the portion of which still standing is the end of the choir and the right wall of the nave, is a specimen of elegant Gothic of the twelfth century.

Built up in the wall are some fine ancient fragments, which I was permitted to sketch without observation. The Abbé takes a hasty plan of the holy structure, and when we have completed our survey we think of breakfast. The sun is oppressively hot; we therefore seat ourselves on the grass, shaded by, and close to, the staircase leading down to the mosque, which seems to have been constructed in a crypt of the Christian church. I invite the imam and one or two of his friends to share our frugal repast, which, in their conception, amounts to a festival. They willingly accept the unexpected treat, and the reader will easily understand that, during the half-hour we remain chatting with them, whilst they are regaling themselves at our expense, their friendship and confidence increase in proportion, so much so, that after breakfast the imam offers to show us the interior of his mosque. Though much inclined to indulge my curiosity, I consider it more prudent to decline the proposal, and I do so, under the plea of respect for Mohammedan observances. I accompany the refusal with twenty piastres for the imam, and four or five for each of the important personages who have breakfasted with us. We then shake hands with great cordiality, and leave them, accompanied by a guide whom the imam himself has ordered to show us the ruins, and to see that all possible respect is paid to us as his particular friends.

Traversing the village, we reach a road leading through the most magnificent orchards it is possible to conceive, planted on the left flank of a considerable hillock, now under cultivation, and covered with

innumerable olive and fig trees. On this eminence stood Samaria, the capital of the kings of Israel, after the schism of the ten tribes. We speedily discover a number of granite columns, some standing, some lying on the ground, and reach at last an immense double colonnade, which must have formerly adorned the principal street of Sebastieh. The columns are Doric, very nearly six feet in circumference, and divided from axis to axis by a distance exceeding ten feet. Fifty-nine are still erect, and a great many overthrown. With the assistance of Edward I took an exact sketch of this fine colonnade, which follows throughout the outline of the hillock. At the western extremity it expands and forms an avenue fifteen yards wide, leading to one of the entrances of the town. This entrance is marked by two fine foundations of circular towers, each eleven yards in diameter, and of very superior workmanship. From these towers two lines of walls commence of similar construction, the left branch running exactly south to a distance of nearly fifty yards, and then turning immediately south-east; whilst the right branch forms a concave bend outwards, so as to terminate close by the base of a smaller tower, distant also about fifty yards from the large tower on the right at the entrance of the town. Beginning from these entrance towers, a road, bordered by a fine avenue of stones fixed upright, still existing along an extent of one hundred yards, leads towards the bottom of a wide, cultivated valley, confined to the westward by a line of high green hills, beyond which may be seen sparkling, the azure waves of the Mediterranean. This

is altogether one of the most magnificent situations to be found in the whole world, and assuredly, the kings of Israel exhibited excellent taste in fixing the capital of their kingdom on this enchanting spot.

We were enabled to study at full leisure the fine colonnade of Sebastieh, which appears to have presented a double range of columns to the left of the entrance of the town, forming in this direction a side alley eighteen feet wide. A similar side alley could not have existed on the right, since the columns of the grand avenue form a tangential line immediately touching the foot of the hillock, upon which, no doubt, the chief royal and religious edifices of the city were placed. This hillock presents besides in several parts, and especially towards the entrance I have described, two stories of supporting walls.

After having sufficiently examined this eminently interesting ruin, we mount our horses to climb the hillock itself upon which Samaria was built, and carefully investigate its whole extent. Fragments of every kind, scattered in all directions, present incontestible signs of the former existence of a considerable city. At the summit we find, on the side of a field, three tambours of stone columns nearly four feet in diameter. Other similar columns are much more ancient than those of the colonnade below, which are evidently contemporaneous with the foundation of Sebastieh erected on the ruins of Samaria.

A smiling cultivated valley passes along the left of the hillock of Samaria, and at the bottom of this appear the remains of a fine quadrangular colonnade, formed of

columns resembling those of the grand avenue. The northern face of this colonnade has still eight columns standing; the western face has only six. A little further on, towards the eastern extremity of the eminence, we discovered again, half way down the declivity, traces of a quadrilateral enclosure of columns, which must have had twelve on its longer faces, and nine only on the short ones. Of this enclosure, fifteen columns are still standing, constructed of limestone.

If any scientific inquirer would devote a few days to Sebastieh, securing in the first instance the good-will of the inhabitants, he could not fail to make archæological discoveries of the highest importance. I therefore most expressly recommend this locality to the notice of travellers willing to employ their time and labour to profitable advantage.

A tradition which cannot be received, places the Church of St. John of Sebastieh on the spot where St. John the Baptist was put to death. But we are most positively informed, that the decollation of St. John took place in Machærus, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, and consequently very far from this place.* It is just possible that the body of the saint may have been brought to Sebastieh; but, beyond this, nothing can be admitted. The small subterranean mosque, or more properly speaking, the oualy placed under the church, bears with the Mussulmen the name of Naby-Iahya, and according to them contains the tomb of this prophet, so called, who, as everybody knows, is identical with John the Baptist.

* Jos., Ant. Jud. XVIII. v. 2.

The name of Samaria is written in two different ways in the Bible,* according to the Hebrew version, and originated as follows. The kings of Israel had chosen for their capital the city of Tirzah ;† Omri, the sixth of these kings (including Zimri, who reigned only seven days and burnt himself in his palace, after the manner of Sardanapalus), bought from Shemer the hill of Samaria (Samroun) for two talents of silver, "and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, Samaria."‡ Samaria thus became the capital of the kingdom of Israel, and the name of the capital became the name of the country itself, since mention is made in Kings of the cities of Samaria.§ In the fourth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah, and the seventh of the reign of Hoshea, son of Elah king of Israel, Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up and laid siege to Samaria, which he took at the end of three years. ‖ All the people of Israel were led away into captivity, and transferred to Assyria and Media. In their place an Assyrian population was introduced, composed of Cutheans, of whom the few Samaritans still existing in our days are the direct descendants.

Samaria, which had been besieged and taken twice by Ben-Adad king of Damascus, was at a later period taken again, and completely ruined by Hyrcanus. The Jews had remained in possession of the city, when Pompey arrived unexpectedly and wrested it from them. Gabinius restored it from its ruins, and Augustus

* 1 Kings, xvi. 24 ; Ezra, iv. 10.
† 1 Kings, xvi. 23.
‡ 1 Kings, xvi. 24.
§ 2 Kings xxiii. 19.
‖ 2 Kings, xviii. 9, and following.

gave it to Herod the Great. This prince converted it into a splendid city, which he called Sebaste, in honour of the Roman emperor. These facts are related by Josephus in his Judaic Antiquities,* and in the first book of his Jewish Wars.

Stephens, in his Ethnicals, confounds Samaria with Neapolis (or Naplouse). This is a manifest error, since it is well known that Neapolis has taken the place of Sichem. Besides, what is still more extraordinary, the same writer speaks of Sebaste as of a small fortress in the country of Samaria. Strabo avoids this mistake, and names Samaria as the place which Herod afterwards called Sebaste. St. Jerome is quite as positive, and in his commentary on Michæa, he says of Samaria: "Erat in montibus, sita ubi nunc Sebaste est."

I have already said, that the site of Sebastieh is charming. On all sides, excepting to the westward, the fertile rising ground upon which the capital of the kingdom of Israel was built, and at a later period the city of Sebaste, is commanded by woody mountains of the most agreeable aspect.

After a few hours of profitable rambling through the ruins of Sebaste, we resumed the road to Naplouse. The sun had been so oppressive during the whole time of our examination, that we all of us, more or less, suffered from the intense heat. Notwithstanding tarbouch and kafieh, I myself received a stroke, which produced during our whole journey to Damascus a continuation of violent headaches. Whilst I am on this subject, let me record a fact which I cannot under-

* Ant. Jud. Books IX., XI., XIII. and XIV.

stand, although I tested it by experience. During the many days that I suffered from the effects of this *coup de soleil*, when light declined the head-ache discontinued, and I thought myself delivered from it; the next morning, on awaking, I felt it not, but the moment the sun appeared above the horizon the pain returned with disheartening regularity. Probably the effect of the glare upon my eyes had some influence on the periodical return of this species of neuralgia.

Before ascending again to Zaouata, we halted a considerable time on the banks of the rivulet watering the small valley in front of the village, and picked up there, under the wet stones, a magnificent collection of *coleoptera;* and amongst them several of the finest species of those we had already found, a few weeks before, on the banks of the Jordan.

On our arrival in Naplouse, we found our friends, Belly and Loysel, who had tried to take sketches and paintings of the valley of Sichem under the walls of the town; but they had been insulted by the populace, who were much disposed to pelt them with stones. Everything, however, had fortunately passed over without much mischief. In the evening Messrs. Hubeau, Delille and Wolf, who had arrived in Naplouse an hour before, joined our party, giving us at the same time an explanation of the strange countermarch of the moukris with their luggage, on the day of our departure from Jerusalem. The chief of the moukris, taking advantage of the accidental fact, that the luggage had gone on in advance, wanted to extort a most exorbitant sum from the travellers, who resisted his

demand, and sent an express to order back their little caravan. The bargain previously concluded with this arch-rogue was, to his great disappointment, annulled immediately. Other moukris were procured by our friends, and the next day they were enabled to follow us.

As we spoke to them with the greatest enthusiasm of our day's promenade, these gentlemen have resolved to visit Sebastieh to-morrow, and Belly and Loysel, though not much given to antiquarian research, have decided to accompany them. For ourselves, we intend passing the day on the Gerizim, where we hope to find some interesting, if not important, vestiges.

February 24th.

We have passed a night of undisturbed repose. Unfortunately the heat of yesterday has somewhat spoilt the weather. Grey clouds are beginning to appear, and I am much afraid our expedition may be crossed by the rain. As we conceive that the longer we delay, the greater will be our chance of getting well drenched, we decide to breakfast on the mountain. A tall youth of the town accompanies us, who is not a Mussulman. What is he, in fact? Is he a Christian, or a Samaritan? I cannot exactly make out, though from some remarks which fell from him during our excursion, I am inclined to think he is a member of that strange sect.

By half-past nine we mounted our horses, and turning the western point of Naplouse, began climbing a wide road leading through magnificent orchards, with their trees in full blossom, to a fine fountain of running water, placed a little above the town. From this place it is easy to estimate with tolerable correctness, the extent

of Naplouse, the general aspect of which is most attractive. As soon as we have passed the fountain, the road becomes rapidly narrower, until it disappears completely with the orchards by which it is enclosed. You then find yourself at the foot of an extensive ravine, or rather a steep defile, rising abruptly to a height of several hundred feet, reaching to the summit of the Gerizim. We alight from our horses, and leading them by the bridle, commence the ascent, which is slow but not difficult. In a quarter of an hour we reach the desired point, and perceive a sort of road flanked by piles of rubbish, and leading us, after a progress of five or six hundred yards, in front of ruins so extensive that I was far from anticipating such a gratifying discovery.

I see before me an extensive inclosure, constructed of blocks in a style of elaborate workmanship. At a glance it is evident that the age of these buildings cannot be later than the period of the higher empire. Is not this the inclosure of the temple which the Samaritans constructed on Mount Gerizim, in imitation of the Temple of Jerusalem ? This is a point which the minute inspection of the area in question will enable us to determine presently. Let us begin by a rapid survey of the surrounding ruins ; our breakfast will follow after, and then we shall resume the examination in detail of this extraordinary remnant of antiquity, which I am so fortunate as to have been the first to investigate.

Our Naplouse guide has not failed to tell us on our arrival before these venerable ruins, that here stood formerly the temple of the Samaritans, but being then

doubtful as to the creed of my informant, I receive his opinion cautiously, and rate it at its probable value. Besides, the monument speaks for itself, and close examination soon impresses the conviction that it has been constructed for the exclusive purpose of religious worship.

As you advance along the principal face looking westward, you find, a little before its southern extremity, a kind of platform composed of huge masses of stone, irregular in form, but fitted exactly into each other, and with their surfaces flattened. Are these artificial blocks which have been brought here, or are they merely projections of the natural rock which have been smoothed? It is difficult to decide this question at first sight. The joints have not the appearance of fissures, and, on a close inspection, I am inclined to think that this platform was formed by the labour of man, and at a very remote period. Tradition again comes to my assistance, for my guide, calling my attention to the platform in question, tells me: "this is the Haraquah, or place where the Samaritans consumed their burnt-offerings;" these victims having first been slaughtered elsewhere, as we shall speedily discover. This platform is also called El-Aacher-Belathat (the ten blocks of stone). This strange name awakened my attention, and I immediately thought of the ten schismatic tribes, who may have built an altar there intended for the holocausts, and formed of ten stones, each tribe having brought its own. Our young guide added—and Mohammed, who had accompanied us in this excursion, corroborated his assertion—that the platform of the Haraquah was the work of Seïdna-

Souleïman (our lord Solomon). Did they mean to say by this that it was built in the days of Solomon? The fact is quite within possibility, for, if immediately after the schism, Jeroboam ordered the erection of this rude altar, there is nothing to prevent its being contemporaneous with the era ascribed to it.

We read in Deuteronomy (xi. 29): "And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest, to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal." Again, further on (xxvii.): "2. And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and shalt plaster them with plaster. 3.—And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law. . . . 4.—Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones which I command you, this day in Mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaster them with plaster. 5.—And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. 6.—Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones; and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God. . . . 11.—And Moses charged the people, the same day, saying: 12.—These shall stand upon Mount Gerizim, to bless the people, when ye are come over Jordan; Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and Benjamin. 13.—And these shall stand upon Mount Ebal to curse; Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali." Then follow the

twelve maledictions, which the Levites were to pronounce, and to which all the people were to answer, Amen. The blessings are not contained in the holy text.

The Talmud comments as follows on this passage of the Scriptures: "Six tribes went up to Mount Gerizim and six to Mount Ebal. The priests, the Levites, and the ark remained between the two hills; the Levites having turned towards Mount Gerizim, recited the blessings, Blessed be the man who will not make idols unto himself. The people answered, Amen. Having next turned towards Mount Ebal, they recited the maledictions, and the people again answered, Amen." A difficulty exists against this explanation. From the top of the Gerizim, as also from the top of the Ebal, it is impossible to see what passes at the bottom of the valley of Sichem; and it is still more impossible to hear anything that might be uttered there, even were a man to shout at the utmost extent of his voice. As there is nothing in Scripture to confirm these details inserted by the Talmudists, I look upon them as inaccurate, and consider that both ceremonies were accomplished in the valley between the two consecrated mountains; each group of six tribes having been placed so that every one might understand what was going on, by seeing it with his own eyes, and answer *Amen* at the proper time.

The Book of Joshua relates how the command of the Almighty was carried into effect, after the passage of the Jordan, (viii. 30). "Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in Mount Ebal. 33.—And

all Israel, and their elders, and officers, and their judges, stood on this side of the ark, and on that side, before the priests, the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, as well the stranger, as he that was born among them; half of them over against Mount Gerizim, and half of them over against Mount Ebal; as Moses, the servant of the Lord, had commanded before, that they should bless the people of Israel." Is it not perfectly clear, from the tenour of this verse, that the people, far from being divided into two portions, on the two opposite mountains, were drawn up on both sides of the valley of Sichem, whilst the ceremony was taking place at the bottom of the valley?

It must be admitted, however, that Josephus * relates the fact after the manner of the Talmudists. This is his statement: "Joshua having marched from this place (Shiloh) with all the people, to Shechem, erected an altar at the spot where Moses had commanded; and having divided the army into two bodies, he placed one half on Mount Gerizim, and the other half on Mount Ebal, where the altar stands, with the Levites and the priests. When they had offered up the sacrifice, proclaimed the maledictions, and inscribed them upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh."

I am much inclined to think (drawing my conclusion from the physical impossibility I have already pointed out, and which is likewise implied by the narrative of Joshua,) that instead of translating, in the biblical passages concerning this important ceremony, the

* Ant. Jud. V. i. 19.

preposition עַל by the word "on," it should always be rendered by "opposite," "in front of," which is by no means contrary to grammatical rules.

The altar constructed by order of Joshua was erected on Mount Ebal. This fact is clear, although it may appear strange that the altar intended to offer sacrifices to the Almighty should have been erected on the mountain of the curse, instead of on that of the blessing. Our Haraquah has no identification whatever with the altar of Mount Ebal; and the probability is that Jeroboam, when he abandoned the faith, in honour of which the first altar had been established, resolved to erect a similar one on the Gerizim, the mount of the blessing, and this was the reason why the altar was formed of ten stones (Aacher-Belathat), representing each of the ten schismatic tribes; just as the monument erected in commemoration of the passage of the Jordan was made of twelve stones, taken from the bed of the river, and representing each of the twelve tribes of Israel.*

Let us now examine the ruins still remaining on the summit of the Gerizim. To the south of the large inclosure, and seventy-five yards distant from the foot, towards the south-eastern angle, is a platform of rock facing to the west, and surrounded by foundations of walls, by which it must have been inclosed. The outline of this platform is not regular. To the eastward it presents a rectilinear face, eleven yards in length, and to the southward another rectilinear face of the same extent. From the extremity of this last face

* Joshua, iv. 7—9.

commences another, only six yards long, turned north-north-west, and ending in an orifice opening on a deep ditch, or kind of well hewn in the rock. This orifice is merely a large chink or cleft, a little more than one yard long, and parallel to that face of the platform which looks towards the east. From the extremity of the opening, an irregularly curved line, of about fifteen yards, joins the first face we have mentioned. But it is easy to discern that the original plan of the platform was a polygon, formed of three long sides, perpendicular to each other, and each eleven yards long, to which were joined two smaller sides of six yards each, ending at the orifice of the well.

The platform which I have so minutely described, is the true altar of the Samaritans. Here the victims were slaughtered, and the blood of the sacrifices ran into this well.

From this spot commence the ruins of a very considerable city. It would be extremely interesting to study these ruins at leisure, and valuable discoveries would undoubtedly be made there. But as, unfortunately, my time was limited to minutes, I was obliged to content myself with a hurried glance, and I regret exceedingly that I could do no more. I shall merely select a singular structure, built on the rock, one hundred and fifty yards in front of the platform of the sacrifices. The walls of this building, formed of huge blocks, are four feet thick, forming a square of from thirty to thirty-six feet on each side, on the northern face of which rests an elliptical apsis, thirty feet in depth. I am unable to decide what this building can

have been. Perhaps a church or chapel dedicated to Christian worship.

As the weather continued unfavourable, we resolved, after this rapid glance, to breakfast as fast as possible, that all our remaining time might be dedicated to the study and survey of the grand inclosure. We sat down on the turf, against the north-eastern angle of this monument, by the foot of a small Mussulman oualy, bearing the name of Ech-cheikh-Rhanem, and hurried rapidly over our meal. From this spot we enjoyed a magnificent prospect. Below us were the eastern declivities of the Gerizim, and beyond these, the eastern extremity of the vast plain of the Makhnah, the same valley which flanks the road from Naplouse to Jerusalem. To our left we observed the entire mass of Mount Ebal, and between us and this eminence, the delightful valley of Sichem, the bottom of which was not perceptible.

I have seldom enjoyed a poor breakfast with so much satisfaction. The Abbé, Edward, and myself were in raptures at the thoughts of our unexpected discovery, and we should have enjoyed the gratifying spectacle before our eyes with unalloyed happiness, if some heavy drops of rain had not interfered to warn us that the task we had still to accomplish, was likely to be impeded.

As soon as breakfast was disposed of we went bravely to work, and notwithstanding the repeated interruptions by icy cold showers which compelled us to take refuge in the oualy of the Scheikh Rhanem, where two stone-cutters were repairing a staircase, we

contrived to complete the survey of this curious structure, the general arrangement of which is as follows :—

The plan of the principal enclosure is a quadrilateral figure, having square projections at each angle, jutting out five feet and a half on the faces. These faces are of different dimensions ; for instance, if you include the salient portions, the two northern and southern sides are seventy-nine yards in extent, while the two opposite faces are only sixty-four and a half. These salient buildings were probably square towers. About the middle of the southern face another projection occurs, exactly similar to those of the angles, eight yards in extent on each side, and standing out in advance five feet and a half. All the principal walls are four feet thick. The western face has no projection in the centre, but only at the angles ; the eastern face presents an entirely flat surface. The salient work on the north-eastern angle has been transformed into the Mussulman oualy bearing the name of Ech-Cheikh-Rhanem.

In the middle of the northern face, and precisely in the axis of the inclosure, a gate is constructed, seventeen feet and a half in width. This opening had on the outside two square projecting pilasters rather more than five feet wide, as far as it is possible to judge by the base of that on the left, which is still standing in its original position. This gate has been walled up at a later period, and the foundation of the closing wall still remains. To the right and left of this principal entrance, and within the inclosure, stood two massive

pavilions, forming lodges, measuring seventeen feet and a half on each side, the walls being also four feet thick. There are also in the interior, resting against the walls of the inclosure, many chambers erected at different periods, as may be judged by the difference in thickness of their various walls. In the most ancient rooms, which are nearly all against the southern face, the walls are equally four feet thick, and these unquestionably form a part of the original disposition of the building.

In the centre of the enclosed platform stood an edifice, the inside of which was octagonal, and its entrance corresponded exactly with the principal gate of the inclosure. On the sides of the polygon adjacent to the entrance face, were buildings resembling chapels, having each two small circular apsides at their extremities; the doors of these chapels opened towards the interior of the octagonal building. The two sides parallel to the general axis served as supports to two very large circular apsides. The two following sides (as far as can be guessed in the reconstruction of a general plan from such perceptible fragments as are still remaining), included other chapels, such as those named before, having two small apsides; and, lastly, the end face, parallel to the entrance, must have again formed one large circular apsis. This alternate arrangement is exceedingly curious, and bears a strange analogy with the plan of the Phœnician temple of Krendi, at Malta, and with that of the Giganteja, at Gozo.

Our guide, on bringing us to the place where the octagon stood which I have described, said :—"This is

the Kiblah of the Samaritans." (Kiblah is a place for offering up private prayer, both in the mosque of Jerusalem and in that of Mecca).

Without the northern face another inclosing wall, of the same period, rests against the projecting part of the north-western angle, and extends in a straight line over a space of fifty-two yards, not including the salient portion of the principal inclosure with which this part of the wall is connected. To its other extremity, is attached a quadrangular tower, seventeen feet in length, inside the walls, in the direction of its northern and southern faces, and only ten feet, in the direction of the two other faces. Beginning from the north-eastern angle of this tower, the wall, which prolongs its northern face, extends in a parallel line with the entrance face of the principal inclosure, over a distance of forty-one yards. There is situated, jutting out five feet and a half, a square tower of rather more than twenty-six feet on each side. Beyond this tower the same wall continues to a distance of twenty-two yards and a half; then it turns abruptly, and crowning the eastern cliffs of the platform of the mountain, bends by an oblique branch forty-three yards long, towards the northern flank of the fore-part containing the oualy of the Scheikh-Rhanem, which it meets on the north-eastern angle, leaving it a projection of four feet.

From the south-eastern angle of the square tower, placed towards the middle of the great northern branch just described, there ran an oblique wall, of which very few portions only are now remaining; and this oblique wall, towards its centre, turned eastward again in a

direction nearly perpendicular to the northern face of the principal inclosure, so as to join it a few yards to the left of the grand entrance. From the corner spot where the oblique wall turns eastward, another wall branched off to meet the eastern face of the second inclosure, five yards to the north of the oualy Ech-cheikh-Rhanem. All these walls are of equal thickness, as nearly as possible four feet.

In the empty space comprised between the northern face of the principal inclosure and the second exterior inclosure, which space is chiefly occupied by a Mussulman burying ground, and twenty-two yards in front, or rather to the north of this burying-ground, is a magnificent pool, now dry, thirty-five yards long, by somewhat more than eighteen yards wide. The walls of this piscina, like all the other walls of the original monument, are four feet thick. It rests against the western wall of the inclosure. An external wall, the foundations of which only are remaining, unites the southern face of the piscina with the northern face of the principal inclosure, at a distance of fourteen yards from the north-western angle of the latter. This external wall was three feet three inches thick. At a distance of thirteen yards to the left, or eastward, are the foundations of two parallel walls three feet thick, with a passage between them three feet and a half wide. The traces of these two walls cease suddenly at a distance of fifteen yards from the pool.

In the northern wall of the pool, at a distance of seven yards from its north-western angle, is a niche admirably carved, and denoting superior skill in the

art of stone-cutting. This might have been an issue by which the overflow of the piscina could be emptied into a well, situated three yards to the right of, and at a distance of four yards from, the above-mentioned niche.

Such is the general arrangement of this magnificent edifice, in which I have no hesitation in recognising the Temple of the Samaritans, the history of which I now purpose to retrace. I have already said that the eastern face of this inclosure was actually on the crest of Mount Gerizim, and commanded the cliffs—looking down upon the Makhnah. Eleven yards in front of the base of this inclosure the traces of a wall are visible, of which a few blocks are still standing; they are of enormous size, measuring six feet in thickness. It seems as if a staircase had rested against this wall, and four or five steps sixteen inches broad, are yet in existence: this staircase must have had its axis at least in this point, running from south to north, and consequently it must have ascended from the side opposite to the direction of Naplouse.

The reader may suppose that our time was busily employed in taking the measurements I have enumerated; the Abbé, Edward, and Philippe assisted me so zealously that at last, notwithstanding the rain, I completed the survey of this interesting monument. As soon as our object was attained we thought of our return, and retraced our steps to Naplouse under a pelting rain, well satisfied to have established, at the cost of considerable fatigue and a good wetting, an archæological fact which I cannot but consider as being of the highest importance.

On our arrival at Naplouse, I was so completely absorbed in reflecting on the ruins I had just visited, that I sent Matteo to present my compliments to the high-priest of the Samaritans, and to ask him the name of the ruined town which had formerly existed on the summit of Mount Gerizim. Matteo soon returned and brought me back the desired name, of which both Mussulmen and Christians were equally ignorant. This name was Louzah! I immediately thought of Beth-el, the original name of which had been Luz, or Louzah, and I erroneously conceived that the real Beth-el might perhaps have existed on the summit of the Gerizim. For a long time I remained in this doubt, which completely ceased on my return home, when I happened to meet with the following document. St. Jerome, in the Onomasticon, mentions a place called Λουζὰ situated near Sichem, at the third mile-stone from Naplouse. This was incontestibly my ruined city of the summit of the Gerizim.

Let us now resume in a few words the history of Sichem and of Naplouse, and then we shall give our attention to that of Mount Gerizim. The Sichem of Scripture was succeeded by Neapolis, which has become the Naboulis of the Arabs, and the Naplouse of the Franks; but these two cities were not exactly on the same spot. There cannot remain any doubt in regard to both these facts. Epiphanius,* and St. Jerome,† make use of the expression:—"Sichem, which is now called Neapolis." Eusebius, in the Onomasticon, says

* Adv. Hæres., lib. iii. pp. 1055—1068. † Ep. 86, Epitaph. Paulæ.

positively:—"Sichem, close to Neapolis," ἐν Συκίμοις πλησίον Νέας πόλεως (ad vocem Τερέβινθος), and in another place (ad vocem Συχέμ): "The site is shown in the suburbs of Neapolis" (Δείκνυται ὁ τόπος ἐν προαστείοις, Νεάς πόλεως); and, lastly, at the word Λουζά, Eusebius says—παρακειμένη Συκὲμ ἀπὸ 'θ σημείου Νέας πόλεως, "it is situated near Sichem, at the ninth mile from Neapolis." St. Jerome has corrected this passage; which he translates—"Juxta Sichem in tertio lapide Neapolis." Perhaps this first correction is not yet sufficient; and a β instead of a γ ought to be substituted in the text of Eusebius, as this would tally more exactly with the real distance from Louzah to Naplouse, and it would better account for the error of the copyist, who is more likely to have taken a B for a Θ, than a Γ for a Θ, as there is no resemblance between these two last characters. At any rate it seems quite clear that Sichem was not on the actual site of Naplouse, and I am rather inclined to suppose that this ancient city was situated at the entrance of the valley of Sichem, towards the spot where tradition has placed the well of the woman of Samaria, Jacob's field, and the tomb of Joseph. The historian Josephus* tells us that in his time Neapolis was called by the natives Mabortha.

It is not said explicitly in any passage of Scripture that Sichem was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mounts Gerizim and Ebal; only in Deuteronomy (xi. 30), we see that these mountains are close to the plains of Moreh; and Genesis (xii. 6) tells us: "And Abram passed through the land unto the place of

* Bel. Jud. IV. viii. 1.

Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh." A comparison of these two passages implicitly shows that Sichem was in the *neighbourhood* of the two sacred mountains. The *patriarch Jacob*, coming from Padan-aram, arrived in Shechem, encamped there and bought from the children of *Hamor*, father of Shechem, the piece of ground upon which he had pitched his tent.* Dinah, daughter of the Patriarch, was carried off by Shechem, son of Hamor, chief of the country.† Hamor then came to ask from Jacob the hand of Dinah (as a wife) for his son, offering at the same time to conclude an alliance between the two races. The sons of Jacob accepted, but on the condition that Hamor and all his people should submit to be circumcised. The people consented; but on the third day, when all the men were ailing from the consequences of the operation they had endured, Simeon and Levi, without warning their father, drew their swords, fell upon the city, which was lying in complete security, and killed all the male inhabitants;‡ then they plundered the city of the goods and cattle, and made captives of the women and children. This abominable perfidy was reprobated by Jacob, reproaching his sons, as is mentioned in the following verse:—

"30 And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and I being few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me: and I shall be destroyed, I and my house." At a later period

* [illegible] † Gen. xxxiv. 1 and following. ‡ Gen. xxxiv. 25.

Jacob having called his children together, to foretell the destiny reserved to each of them, bitterly reproached his two sons, Simeon and Levi, for their brutality :*— "7. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel ; I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."

A long time after this, when Jacob resided in the vicinity of Hebron, his sons having led their flocks in the direction of Shechem, sold in this place their brother Joseph, who had come to join them in the neighbourhood of Dothan.† A caravan of Ismaelites, on their way to Egypt, bought Joseph, and everybody knows to what degree of power the son of Jacob was raised in that country. At the period of the conquest of the promised land, Joshua, after the sack of Jericho and of Aï, proceeded, according to the order he had received from Moses, to construct an altar on Mount Ebal, and to have the Lord's blessings and maledictions proclaimed by the people of Israel. I have already observed how strange it was that the altar of Jehovah should have been erected on the mountain of the malediction. The Samaritans are of the same opinion ; for the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch states that the altar of the Almighty was to have been, and was indeed erected on Mount Gerizim. And, in consequence, they accuse the Jews of having altered the sacred text in this point, as in many others. Their conclusion is, therefore, that the Haraquah is most positively the altar erected by command of Joshua at the time of that imposing ceremony.

* Gen. xlix. † Gen. xxxvii. 17.

Shechem, on Mount Ephraim,* was one of the three cities of refuge situated on the right bank of the Jordan. We know that the other two were Kedesh and Kirjath-arba, or Hebron.

Abimelech, the illegitimate son of Gideon by a concubine, sacked the town of Shechem, after having murdered, at Ophrah, seventy of his brothers. One of these, Jotham, having survived the slaughter, reproached the Shechemites with having accepted Abimelech for their king.† "He went and stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said unto them: Hearken unto me, ye men of Shechem, that God may hearken unto you." This text proves that the summit of Gerizim was in the close neighbourhood of Shechem.

Josephus relates the same fact in the following manner:—"Jotham having gone up to the summit of Gerizim (that commands the city of Sichem), raised his voice so that the people might hear him; and the people kept silence to listen to his words. . . . ." It is quite evident from this passage that, according to Josephus, Shechem would not have been lying in the bottom of the valley whilst Jotham was haranguing on the summit of Mount Gerizim. In his idea, Shechem was situated within the reach of a human voice from this summit. If Shechem, therefore, was not situated in the very place where the ruins of Luz, or Louzah, now exist, this passage and the corresponding one of the Holy Scriptures become inexplicable.

After the death of Solomon, Rehoboam went to

* Joshua, xx. 7. † Judges, ix. 7.

Shechem, for it was in Shechem that all Israel had gathered to appoint a king.* It was there that the rebellion of the ten tribes took place. Rehoboam was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and Jeroboam was proclaimed King of Israel. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin alone remained faithful to Rehoboam. Then Jeroboam built Shechem on the mountain of Ephraim, and he dwelt there. He afterwards left it and built Penuel.† Does it not result from this verse, as well as from that where mention is made of the speech of Jotham, brother of Abimelech, that Shechem was really on the *mountain*, and not in the hollow valley of Naplouse. I leave it to more learned scholars than myself to decide this point, although I am much inclined to believe that the ancient Shechem was situated precisely in the place where the ruins of Louzah now stand, on the summit of Mount Gerizim.

After the King of Assyria, Shalmaneser, had carried away the ten tribes into captivity, the Cutheans sent from Persia to occupy their place, settled round about Shechem, which became the central point of their religious faith, so that Naplouse is even now the religious metropolis of their descendants. The Cutheans established in Samaria, happening to be decimated by a plague, were warned by an oracle, that they had no chance of being saved unless they worshipped the Sovereign Deity, who, before their arrival, had been adored in this country. They hastened to send a written supplication to the King of Assyria, entreating that he would send them from amongst the

* 1 Kings, xii. 1. † 1 Kings, xii. 25.

captives transferred into Assyria, some priests who might instruct them in the new worship they desired to adopt. Their supplication was favourably received, and the Samaritan rite of the Judaic worship was established from that moment.*

When the Jews returned from the captivity of Babylon, at the time of the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem by Zerubbabel, the Samaritans requested the Jews to allow them to participate in this reconstruction, but their request was most positively refused.† They then used much influence with the Persian monarchs to throw obstacles in the way of the plans of Zerubbabel and of the Jews who had returned to their country.

Their intrigues were at first crowned with complete success, and the works, for a long while interrupted, were only resumed in the second year of the reign of Darius, but then they were successfully terminated. From this moment an inveterate dislike subsisted between the Samaritans and the Jews. The consequence was, that when the Persian empire was overthrown by Alexander the Great, the Samaritans solicited from the conqueror permission to build a temple for themselves on Mount Gerizim that might rival that of Jerusalem. The incident is related by Josephus in the following manner :—

After the death of the high priest John, Jaddus, his son, became sovereign pontiff. Jaddus had a brother called Manasseh. The Cuthean, Sanballat, who had a common origin with the Samaritans, and who

* Jos.. Ant. Jud. IX. xiv. 3. † Ezra, iv. 1, and following.

had been invested by Darius with the office of Satrap of Samaria, from motives of ambition, bestowed his daughter Nicaso in marriage on Manasseh.* About this period, Philip, King of Macedon, having been assassinated, his son Alexander succeeded to the crown, and began his career of conquest by taking possession of Ionia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphylia. †

In Jerusalem, the members of the council were indignant at seeing Manasseh, the husband of a Persian woman, taking a share in the religious ceremonies, in which it was his duty to assist the high-priest his brother. They insisted that he should either divorce his wife or give up attending the altar. Jaddus himself took part with the council against Manasseh, who then appealed to Sanballat, his father-in-law; he explained to him the awkward situation in which he was placed, and while protesting his love for his wife, declared that he could not consent on her account to lose his rights to the priesthood, the highest of all dignities, and hereditary in his family. Sanballat answered, that if he refused to give up his wife, not only he (Sanballat) would engage to maintain him in the priesthood, but would even procure for him the supreme pontificate; adding also, that he would, with the consent of Darius, build on Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of the mountains of Samaria, a temple exactly similar to that of Jerusalem. The satrap engaged, moreover, to make over to his son-in-law the governorship with which he was invested. Manasseh, led away by these tempting promises, retained his wife; and as many

* Ant. Jud. XI. vii. 2. † Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 1.

other Israelites, and even priests, had contracted un-orthodox marriages, great dissensions arose in Jerusalem, some taking part with the high priest Jaddus and his adherents, whilst others declared for Manasseh and the satrap, his father-in law.*

Sanballat had announced to Manasseh that as soon as Alexander should be vanquished by Darius, the moment would be favourable for obtaining from the King of Kings all that he had promised to him. He therefore expected anxiously the defeat of the Macedonians, but the contrary event took place. The innumerable army of the Persians was completely routed, and Darius fled, leaving in the hands of the conqueror his mother, his wife, and his children. After this success, Alexander made an incursion into Syria, took Damascus and Sidon, and laid siege to Tyre. From this place he issued orders to the high priest, Jaddus, to send him auxiliaries and pay him the tribute which he had hitherto rendered to the King of Persia. Jaddus answered that he had engaged upon oath that his people should never bear arms against Darius, and that so long as this prince should be living, he could not violate his sworn allegiance. Alexander replied in anger that as soon as he had disposed of Tyre, he should pay him a visit in Jerusalem, at the head of his army, to teach him for the future more prudence in binding himself by solemn engagements.†

At the end of seven months, Tyre fell under the arms of Alexander; two months afterwards Gaza met with the same fate, and the King of Macedonia made his

* Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 2. † Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 3.

appearance before the gates of Jerusalem. I have given elsewhere a detailed narrative of the interview between Alexander and the high priest, which it is unnecessary to repeat.

Sanballat, when Alexander began the siege of Tyre, conceived that the moment had arrived for betraying his master with advantage to himself. He proceeded to the camp of the King of Macedon, and offered his submission. Finding himself well received, he gathered courage and ventured to touch upon the real object of his defection. He told the monarch that he had for son-in-law Manasseh, brother of Jaddus, the pontiff of Jerusalem; that Manasseh had many adherents amongst the Jews, who wished to build another temple, in the lands under his own rule; that it would be very important for Alexander to consent to this proposal, as the means of dividing the Jewish nation, and of facilitating the conquest and government of the country. Alexander allowed himself to be persuaded, and granted the prayer of Sanballat. The Satrap immediately commenced the work, which he urged forward with great diligence. As soon as the temple was erected, Manasseh was invested with the supreme pontificate. Sanballat died nine months afterwards, just as the city of Gaza had fallen under the victorious arms of Alexander.*

When the Samaritans saw how graciously the Jews of Jerusalem had been treated by Alexander, they determined to give themselves out as Jews, in the eyes of the king, to obtain likewise a share of his generosity and favour. These Samaritans had then for their

* Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 4.

capital Sichem, *a town situated in front of Mount Gerizim* (μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμα ἔχοντες, κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζεὶν ὄρει), and peopled by apostate Jews. For a considerable time they had adopted the practice of calling themselves Jews, whenever the affairs of the Jewish nation seemed to take a favourable turn, and on the other hand, denied having anything in common with that people whenever clouds appeared to be gathering in the Hebrew sky. Consequently a Samaritan deputation was despatched in great haste and pomp, to meet Alexander, almost under the very walls of Jerusalem, bringing with them the contingent of auxiliaries which Sanballat had engaged to supply. As the monarch thanked them for this mark of submission and deference, the envoys entreated him to visit their city and honour their temple with his presence. He promised to do so immediately on his return from the expedition in which he was about to engage. The Samaritan deputies then entreated for exemption from tribute, on every seventh year, when Alexander asked them to what nation they belonged that they should prefer a request of this nature? "We are Hebrews," answered they, "and are called the Sidonians of Sichem." Alexander demanded plainly, "are you Jews?" upon which they confessed that they were not. "What you ask me," replied the conqueror, "I have only granted to the Jews. However, on my return, when I shall have obtained more precise information concerning you, I will determine accordingly." And with these words he dismissed them. The auxiliaries furnished by Sanballat, he commanded to follow him into Egypt, promising that he would give

them lands in that country. And he did so accordingly, some time afterwards, when he appointed them to the protection of the Thebaid.*

When, after the death of Alexander, his empire was divided amongst his generals, the temple of the Gerizim still subsisted, and the population of the Sichemites continued to be recruited by such Jews as were expelled from Jerusalem for having eaten impure food, for having violated the Sabbath, or for having committed any other similar offence.† At a much later period, when Antiochus Epiphanes had obtained unresisted possession of Jerusalem, and had twice plundered that city (in the years 143 and 145 of the era of the Seleucidæ), the Samaritans, dreading a similar treatment, addressed a supplication to Antiochus, explaining to him that they were not, and never had been Jews, but that they were Sidonians by origin; that their ancestors had conceived they were likely to drive away some contagious diseases by which they had repeatedly been decimated, by adopting the ancient superstition of the country, such as the celebration of the festival which the Jews called the *Sabbath*; that an *anonymous* temple having been erected on the mountain called *Gerizim*, they were in the habit of offering there, solemn sacrifices to an unknown God; and that, in consequence, as they were ready to adopt the faith of the Greeks, they humbly prayed the King not to confound them with the Jews in the just chastisement of their crimes, and to allow them to dedicate their temple to the Hellenian Jupiter.

* Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 6. † Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 7

Antiochus replied that he granted their demand, and authorised them to dedicate their temple to Jupiter accordingly. This answer was dated the 12th day of the month Hecatombæon, in the year 146 of the era of the Seleucidæ.*

The temple of Mount Gerizim existed only two centuries. "John Hyrcanus took possession of Sichem and of the Gerizim, and subdued the nation of the Cutheans, who exercised their religious worship in a temple similar to that of Jerusalem—a temple which Alexander the Great had authorised Sanballat to erect in favour of his son-in-law Manasseh, brother of the high-priest Jaddus, as we have already related in a former passage. It so happened then that this temple was devastated, after having lasted two hundred years." †

From these documents we collect positive information concerning the period of the building, the duration, and destruction of the temple erected by the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim. Alexander arrived before Jerusalem in the year B.C. 332; John Hyrcanus was invested with the sovereign pontificate in the year B.C. 135; it was, at the earliest, towards the end of the second year of his reign, that is to say in the year B.C. 133, that he destroyed the temple of the Gerizim. The calculation of Josephus, attributing two hundred years' existence to this temple, is therefore perfectly correct. Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne in the year B.C. 175, about which time the temple of the Gerizim was dedicated to the Hellenian Jupiter.

* Ant. Jud. XII. v. 5. † Ant. Jud. XIII. ix. 1.

Let us now examine the more recent periods. The Samaritans, having taken refuge on Mount Gerizim, were attacked there by order of Vespasian. Cerealis, prefect of the fifth legion, with 600 cavalry and 3000 infantry, waited until thirst had reduced the strength of the multitude collected for refuge upon the mountain, for the place was ill supplied with water, and the season was then the hottest portion of the summer.

Mount Gerizim was ascended and stormed by the Romans; the Samaritans, having been summoned to surrender, refused to lay down their arms, and were put to the sword to the number of ten thousand six hundred.* Procopius † relates that under the reign of Zeno, the inhabitants of Neapolis assailed the Christians who were celebrating the festival of the Pentecost, and cut off the fingers of the bishop Terebinthus, whom they found administering the holy communion to the faithful. The prelate fled for refuge to the emperor, and implored his assistance. Zeno, in punishment of such a crime, expelled the Samaritans from Mount Gerizim, and ordered a church to be built there dedicated to St. Mary; this church being surrounded by a simple enclosure of loose stones. A strong garrison was placed in the lower town, whilst only ten men were posted as a guard in the upper defences. Under the reign of Anastasius, the Samaritans climbed up the mountain by the cliffs which had been left unguarded, and obtained possession of it by force. The prefect of the province immediately arrested and put to death the

* Bel. Jud. III. viii. 32.

† De Ædif. Just. lib. v. cap. vii.

rebels guilty of this attempt. Lastly, the Emperor Justinian enclosed the church of the Gerizim within another wall, affording sufficient protection against a surprise, and ordered also the building of five Christian churches which had been burnt in the city. This last circumstance took place in the year A.D. 525. (Cyril of Scythopolis, history of St. Saba.)

We read in the Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem: "Civitas Neapolis. Ibi est mons Agazaren; ibi dicunt Samaritani Abraham sacrificium obtulisse, et ascenduntur usque ad summum montem gradus num. CCC. Inde ad pedem montis ipsius locus est, cui nomen est Sechim. Ibi positum est monumentum, ubi positus est Joseph, in villa quam dedit ei Jacob pater ejus. Indè rapta est Dina filia Jacob a filiis Amorræorum. Indè passus mille, locus est, cui nomen Sechar, undè descendit mulier Samaritana, ad eumdem locum, ubi Jacob puteum fodit, ut de eo aqua impleret (*sic*), et Dominus Noster Jesus-Christus cum eâ locutus est; ubi sunt arbores platani quos plantavit Jacob, et balmus qui de eo puteo lavatur."

This highly interesting passage affords subject for observation. First, in the opinion of the Pilgrim, Sichem (or Shechem, the proper spelling for Sechim), and Sechar, are two different places. But this distinction cannot be admitted; Sichem and Sechar were certainly the same locality.* The well of the Samaritan woman and the tomb of Joseph are very near each other, and at a distance of a thousand paces from these

* This is St. Jerome's observation with regard to this point; "Transivit Sichem, non ut plerique, errantes, legunt Sichar, quæ nunc Neapolis appellatur." (Ep. 86. Epitaph. Paulæ.)

spots is Sychar, whence the Samaritan woman came down to Jacob's well.* With such indications as these it would be difficult not to recognise the Sechar of the Pilgrim, in the Louzah of Mount Gerizim. Secondly, to ascend from Neapolis to the temple of the Gerizim, the Pilgrim tells us that in his time there existed a staircase numbering three hundred steps. Let us begin by observing that this number is ridiculous and impossible, if the temple is supposed to have been on the summit, and that it really was there may be proved in a moment. The height of Mount Gerizim above the level of Naplouse is certainly five or six hundred yards ; but such being the case, it is evident that the steps of the staircase, leading to the temple on the top, could not be numbered by a few hundreds. I should propose to read fifteen hundred instead of three hundred, and I am convinced this calculation would be much nearer the truth.

It is not possible to retain any doubt with regard to the existence of this gigantic staircase, and for the following reason. Some fine imperial medals of Antoninus Pius, coined in Neapolis, and representing Mount Gerizim with its temple, are still in existence and well known. Certainly this was not the temple destroyed by Hyrcanus, but some pagan edifice that had succeeded the first. Whoever may have visited Naplouse and Gerizim, will be struck with the exactness of the drawing represented by these rare and beautiful medals. But the very first detail which excites attention, is the existence of an immense staircase going

* St. John, iv. 5, 6, 7.

directly up from the lower town to the portico of the temple. This temple is surrounded by an enclosure, towards the southern extremity of which a high tower appears; and I have no doubt that this tower of the medal is the identical square tower situated in the middle of the southern face of the ancient enclosure as I have described it in the preceding pages. As an additional proof of general exactness, I must observe that the narrow ravine by which I reached the summit of Mount Gerizim is admirably sketched in its proper place on the medal, and the upper extremity of this ravine is defended by two towers, the bases of which I should have most probably discovered, if I had then been acquainted with the circumstance. In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the staircase mentioned by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, and which had existed ever since the time of Antoninus Pius, was still there in the year A.D. 333.*

The learned Dr. Robinson† expresses himself as follows, concerning the ruins I have described at full length, and for which his Samaritan guide gave him no other name than that of El-Qalaat, the castle: "This was probably the fortress, the ruins of which are still seen upon the mountain, bearing every mark of a Roman origin." I cannot adopt this opinion. A fortress is a

* A very probable inference, which does not appear to have struck M. de Saulcy, but which seems to result from the general accuracy of the Pilgrim's descriptions, is that in the year 333 only about three hundred steps of this staircase were remaining. The Pilgrim does not say that this is the whole of the original staircase, but all he saw at the time; and that seems the more likely as the staircase must have worn out by degrees. M. de Saulcy himself found a few steps of it still remaining.—*Translator.*

† Bibl. Researches in Palest. vol. iii. pp. 124.

fortress only on condition that it can be defended, which means that it is constructed for defensive purposes. Now, I ask, how is a wall to be defended that has no parapet, and against which dwelling apartments are resting in all directions. In such a citadel, the garrison would have been reduced to remain passive with their arms folded, whilst the assailants might have approached the walls and breached them at any point they pleased to select without opposition. I have no hesitation in believing, that this enormous remnant of antiquity is the veritable enclosure of the temple built by Sanballat, by permission of Alexander the Great; and the octagon, which was the sanctuary, profaned most probably by the statue of the Hellenian Jupiter, must have been razed by order of Hyrcanus, whilst the enclosure itself was more indulgently spared.

I have no doubt that whoever takes the trouble to examine the plan of this building without preconceived opinions, will convince himself that it was never intended for military, but rather for religious purposes. The temple of Sanballat was built in imitation of the temple of Jerusalem, and a remarkable analogy is to be observed in the general dispositions of the two plans. For instance, the great piscina of the temple of Mount Gerizim is placed, in exactly the same relative position as was the Piscina Probatica in the Temple of Jerusalem; which is not, as I have proved, to be confounded with the piscina now called Birket-Israïl, and which last is identical with the Bethesda of the Gospel.

I trust I may be allowed to congratulate myself upon having been the first to give an accurate survey of the

Samaritan temple, and I may well believe that the acquisition of this most interesting plan was in itself a sufficient reward for the laborious journey I have undertaken.

Our friends came back from Sebastieh as completely soaked through as ourselves. Captain Wolf is furious at the return of the rain, and although he has only been four and twenty hours in Naplouse, he is already weary of the place. To-morrow, if the weather continues, we shall evidently find it impossible to recommence our march. For myself I shall not regret the forced delay which will enable me to put my notes on the Gerizim in order, and the Abbé will have time to arrange the plants of his botanical collection.

February 25th.

We acted prudently yesterday in not giving orders for our departure to-day. It has rained all night, and this morning the rain continues in such a manner that the heavens seem to be melting. I had made up my mind to make the best of delay by taking a fair copy of the plan of the temple discovered by us on the summit of Mount Gerizim. But this was no light undertaking; and I had been already several hours at work, when I discovered that one of the sides of the enclosure was incorrectly laid down, and that the observation fixing its bearings had been inaccurately taken. Hereupon I abandon myself to despair, and rail against the foul weather which keeps me a prisoner in my lodgings, and thus prevents me from correcting a palpable mistake. It is hard to think of leaving

Naplouse, with the reflection that owing to a single error of the compass, my labour of two days will be nearly lost.

I have already said that my friend Edward Delessert is ever ready to face rain, fatigue, and danger, when the object is to procure for me some essential information. He orders horses to be saddled for himself and his faithful Philip; borrows my compass and asks me to explain to him the manner in which he is to take the requisite bearings when he arrives on the mountain. Both horsemen, provided with a pair of pistols each, gallop off under a pelting rain. In two hours they return wet through, and bemired with mud up to their chins; but the mistake has been rectified, and my survey of the temple is at last complete. The reader will readily conceive how grateful I felt then, and ever shall feel, for this valuable proof of friendship.

Whilst I was engaged in completing my drawing, Messrs. Hubeau, Delille, and Wolf, came in to pay us a visit, and proposed a game of whist to kill time. When I had finished my work I joined in this resource against ennui; then after an interval, proceeded to assist the Abbé in arranging his herbarium. After dinner, we resumed this tedious operation, and only withdrew to bed when it was completed. Unfortunately many plants are lost; not having been transferred in proper time, they are now decayed, and have even rotted the paper in which they were enclosed.

February 26th.

Once more Providence has removed the obstacles which appeared determined to impede our further

progress. During the night the clouds have disappeared, the sky has become serene. and this morning, by dawn, Matteo has apprised us of this agreeable change in the weather. The order for departure is immediately given, the baggage is packed, our saddle-horses are brought to the door, and to escape the tediousness of waiting until our moukris are ready, we move on in advance, leaving to Matteo the care and trouble of watching and stimulating the departure of the remainder of the caravan.

We commenced our march at an early hour, and in the finest possible weather. We recrossed the slough that intercepts the road at the bottom of the valley of Naplouse, on the left bank of the fine rivulet with which it is irrigated, and began immediately to ascend the northern flank. We are now following the road to Djenin, the same which the reader may remember we were travelling on by night, when we had the misfortune to shoot a man in the neighbourhood of the Djebâa.

On reaching the summit, we find the ground strewed with ancient fragments of many kinds, and amongst others with large cubes of original mosaic. All round us the rocks are excavated into caves and cisterns. It is evident that we are on the site of an ancient city. What city can this have been ? The only information I can obtain is, that the road passing through this district is called Kallabat-Esnabar. I humbly confess that this name, which I made my guides repeat to me ten times at least, and which I immediately wrote down to be sure it was correct, has not furnished

any information, and that I am totally unable to comprehend its meaning.

A city formerly existed, named Sennabris, but it was situated between Beysan (Scythopolis) and Tabarieh (Tiberias), at a distance of only thirty stadia from the last named place; there can be then no connexion between Esnabar and the Sennabris of Josephus.* Perhaps, there have been, as is the case in many other localities of the Holy Land, two cities of the name which the Greeks have transcribed Sennabris. If so, the place we have just encountered may be one of the two.

We have again crossed the defile where, a few weeks since, Mohammed killed an Arab, and have all recognised the unlucky spot, notwithstanding we had only seen it before by night. But we may confess without shame or hesitation, that under such circumstances people open their eyes sufficiently wide, and after an interval of two months, can still recognise, without difficulty, the ground contemplated under a very natural excitement. With regard to the defunct, we obtained some information respecting him in Naplouse, our host telling us that we had a narrow escape at the time of our first journey. It seems that about a dozen rogues, allured by the sight of our luggage, had lain in ambuscade for us, but they happened to attack by mistake a detachment of Turkish cavalry (probably the same that passed us at Sanour, and halted at Djebâa), taking them for our party; but one of the robbers had received a ball in the loins which killed him on the

* Bel. Jud. III. ix. 7.

spot ; that thereupon his companions had not deemed it prudent to prolong their night walk, and had fled without looking behind them ! Most valuable Turks ! When in our hearts we were wishing you in warm quarters, because you frightened away our truant horses as a joke, we little thought how much we were to be indebted to you only a few hours later. The blood we had spilt in reality, and which we might have been called upon to answer for, had been laid to the current account of the Turks, and we deemed it most prudent to leave matters as they were, without seeking to claim or discharge our portion of the debt.

About two thousand yards before reaching Djebâa, we left on an eminence, to the right of our road, the village of Yasil. I find in the Arabian list of the villages of this country, published by the Rev. Dr. Robinson, one called Yasid, and I have no doubt that the final *Lam* has been erroneously taken for a *Dal*. These two letters may very easily be confounded with each other.

I never recollect to have seen a more beautiful garden than the ground we traversed before reaching Djebâa. The road is continually intersected by a fine rivulet irrigating the fields and meadows along its course. The vegetation is luxuriant ; beautiful flowers are blossoming on every side ; and, amongst other curiosities, the Abbé, who keeps us in a perpetual grumble by his obstinate habit of remaining a mile behind the party, in his eagerness to pick up plants, brings us, as we alight from our horses on the hill planted with olive-trees, on which Djebâa is situated,

a magnificent fritillaria, with green flowers (*Fritillaria Persica*); but to his intense chagrin he has not been able to obtain the bulb.

Whilst we are waiting for our breakfast, we make a rich collection of the insects concealed in every anemone. Scarcely have we swallowed our first mouthful, when the Abbé can contain himself no longer. He snatches a piece of bread and two hard-boiled eggs, and shouting to us to wait for him only half-an-hour, mounts his horse again to return in quest of his bulb of fritillaria, and to add, if possible, to his other specimens. We had no idea that he intended to return nearly two miles, and we only guessed the fact from the impatience with which we were condemned to wait for this enthusiastic botanist. It seemed like a fatality that the name of Djebâa should always be connected with the remembrance of ill-humour against the unfortunate Abbé. After an absence of more than an hour, he rejoined us, when we were beginning to entertain some apprehension as to the cause of this incomprehensible delay. Just as we were despatching Matteo in quest of the absentee, he made his appearance again, glowing with rapture; he had secured his bulb. We hastened to remount our horses, and to descend into the valley of Sanour.

Djebâa is without doubt a very ancient place. The rocks that project above the village, from the lovely green hill upon which it is situated, are pierced with sepulchral caves, and a necropolis of this kind is a sure indication of the existence of a former city upon that spot. What city can this have been? It is impossible

to answer the question. Josephus* speaks of a Gaba (Γά,βα) that was in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel; evidently it cannot be that. Stephens, in his "Ethnicals," mentions a Gaba, a city of Galilee. This it may possibly be. With regard to the first, Josephus, in his Life (xxiv.) says that Besara is on the confines of the territory of Ptolemaïs, and twenty stadia distant from Gaba. This evidently excludes our Djebâa. Another Gaba is again mentioned by the prophet Zechariah. It was a small town sixteen miles distant from Cæsarea, and in the neighbourhood of the large plain of Megiddo. Evidently this is the Gaba of Josephus, and not ours. And lastly, a town of the tribe of Benjamin has borne this name, but it was on the northern limit of the tribe of Judah,† since it is said from Geba to Beer-sheba; so this cannot again be our Djebâa. In short, there does not remain any locality, known in the ancient writings, which can be clearly identified with the modern Djebâa. It is nevertheless quite certain that it must have taken the place of some ancient city.

As soon as we have reached the bottom of the village of Sanour, we find the ground so swampy that we are obliged to gain the left flank as fast as we possibly can. This glen, in accordance with the information we had received from Mohammed on our first journey, forms in front of Sanour, an immense lake, rather shallow it is true, but still sufficiently deep to render it unfordable. We pass therefore behind Sanour, and soon reach the delightful wooded valley that opens into

* Bel. Jud. III. iii. 1. † 2 Kings, xxiii. 8.

the Merdj-Sanour, and through which we are to proceed for the second time to Djenin. It is five o'clock when we arrive in this attractive village, which we find even more muddy and filthy than on our former visit. We resume our lodgings in the same khan, where our moukris with their animals have already established themselves, so that we are all huddled together, and in the midst and confusion of a host of travellers, whose close propinquity will leave us little hope of rest or sleep.

MM. Hubeau, Delille, and Wolf rejoined us on the way, and we all travelled on to Djenin together. Their dragoman has taken them to another lodging, upon which event I congratulate them most sincerely. On entering Djenin, we discovered a numerous bivouac of travellers established under the fine palm-trees which are planted to the left of the village. They comprise a caravan of Greek pilgrims, proceeding to Jerusalem for the Easter holidays.

February 27th.

We had prepared ourselves for a fearful night, but it has far exceeded our expectations. The smoke, the vermin, and the incessant jingling of the bells of the mules huddled together in the khan, rendered all rest impossible. We, however, learnt a trick from Selim, that procured us an interval of merriment. A number of asses share our temporary dwelling with us, and bray incessantly, to the visible amusement of our accidental fellow-travellers, who see that we are impatient, and tired, and would be glad to snatch even a few moments sleep. Selim instructs us that if we pronounce

the *Zarrrrh*, dwelling on it distinctly and emphatically, the asses of the country will begin to bray, as if seized by an epidemic, and will never cease to continue their melodious serenade. We adopt the hint and put it in practice forthwith. Our neighbours had amused themselves at our expense, in finding that their asses robbed us of repose. We have turned the tables and treated them to a continuation of the same concert during the whole night. As we were the stronger party and well armed, they were compelled to digest the retort with patience. But the whole khan has passed a sleepless night and morning, and the poor victimised asses must have been as much worn out as ourselves.

The reader may suppose that we had no wish to protract our stay in Djenin ; the sun had scarcely risen above the horizon, when our luggage was already on the move, and we ourselves prepared to follow. We have selected a different road from that on which we formerly travelled from Nazareth to Djenin, having no desire to be smothered in the mud. Our path now lies to the right, keeping as much as possible along the high ground, for whenever we had to cross, even a narrow plain, our horses sank up to their knees in mud, and we were still more anxious for our beasts of burthen than for those which carried ourselves.

Marching then to the right, and along the flank of the village of Djelameh, we proceeded in the direction of Zerayn, where we arrived by a quarter past nine. We had left Djenin by three quarters past six, and had continued at a smart pace, without a single halt. The village of Zerayn, the Jezreël of Scripture, is placed on the

spur of a hill detached from the Djebel-Nourys, commanding the Merdj-ebni-Aâmer, or plain of Jezreël or Esdraëlon. We leave to our right a spring, forming a small pond, called the Aÿn-el-Maïteh (or the dead spring), on the south-side of which are two sarcophagi used as troughs. We pass the village on our left, and descending the opposite side of the hill upon which Zerayn is situated, halt close to a fine well, evidently a very ancient construction, called Bir-Esoued (the black well), probably on account of the black lava blocks which surround its mouth. Here we alight to breakfast. The well is distant from the village about two hundred yards to the north-west. Hence, bearing due north, and distant about five thousand yards, stands the village of Soulèm, the country of the Shunamite woman. To our right, bearing east by fifteen degrees north, and distant about ten thousand yards, is the village of Qoumieh. In a due east direction, is the village of Chattah. This last has assuredly taken the place of a biblical locality.

We read in Judges (vi. 33.) : "Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites, and the children of the east were gathered together, and went over, and pitched in the valley of Jezreël." When Gideon, with his three hundred men, had succeeded in throwing their camp into confusion and terror.* . . . "They fled to Beth-shittah in Zererath, and to the border of Abel-meholah unto Tabbath." I have no doubt that the modern Chattah is the Beth-shittah of Scripture.

Mohammed assures me that, on the opposite declivity

* Judges, vii. 22.

of the Djebel-Nourys, a fine spring is to be found, proceeding from a cave, and which forms the Nahr-el-Djaloud.

Let us now return to Zerayn. This village has unquestionably succeeded to the Jezreël of the Bible. We find in Joshua (xix.) : "17. And the fourth lot came out to Issachar, for the children of Issachar, according to their families. 18.—And their border was toward Jezreël, and Chesulloth and Shunem." It is clear that this verse places Jezreël where it actually stands, in the vicinity of Chesulloth and of Soulèm. One of the daughters (handmaidens) of Jezreël became the wife of King David ; she was called Ahinoam.* On a particular occasion, David came to encamp, with his army, near the fountain which is in Jezreël. † Soon after that, he was obliged to retreat, and the Philistines who had united against him, went up to Jezreël. ‡

The king of Israel, Ahab, who had married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians, resided in Jezreel,§ and he had a palace there,‖ close to which was the vineyard of Naboth, the Jezreëlite. The reader may remember that, to obtain possession of this vineyard which Naboth refused to give up to the king, Jezebel suborned two false witnesses against Naboth, on whose accusation he was stoned to death. At the moment when Ahab was taking possession of the vineyard of the man who had thus been assassinated by the perfidy of the queen, the prophet Elijah suddenly came forward, and said, "Thus saith the Lord, In the

* 1 Samuel, xxv. 43. † 1 Samuel, xxix. 1. ‡ 1 Samuel, xxix. 2.
§ 1 Kings, xviii. 45. ‖ 1 Kings, xxi. 1.

place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine.* . . . And the dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel."† This fearful prophecy terrified Ahab, who humbled himself before the wrath of Jehovah, and thus postponed the fulfilment of the prophecy until the days of his son Jehoram.‡ Ahaziah succeeded Ahab, reigned a couple of years, and died from the effects of a fall. His brother Jehoram succeeded him, went to war with the Syrians, and having been wounded at Ramoth-gilead, retired to take rest and heal his wounds to Jezreël, where Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, king of Judah, came to visit him.§

When, by the command of the Almighty, Elisha sent the son of a prophet to anoint Jehu as king of Israel, and to announce to him that he was destined to exterminate the house of Ahab, he concluded by these expressions:‖—"And the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreël, and there shall be none to bury her. And he opened the door and fled." Jehu was then proclaimed king by his comrades in the army (of which he was one of the chiefs). He mounted his horse and proceeded towards Jezreël, for Jehoram lay there still disabled by his wounds (v. 16). A watchman placed on one of the towers of Jezreël, descried the approach of Jehu's host, and came to inform the king, saying, "I see a company." Jehoram said to him, "Take an horseman, and send to meet them, and let him say, is it peace?" (v. 17.) The messenger was detained, and

* 1 Kings, xxi. 19. † 1 Kings, xxi. 23. ‡ 1 Kings, xxi. 29.
§ 2 Kings, viii. 29. ‖ 2 Kings, ix. 10.

did not return. Another was despatched, and was detained likewise. The watchman again warned the king, and told him, "The driving is like the driving of Jehu, the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously." Then Jehoram ordered his war-chariot to be prepared to go and meet Jehu, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, accompanied him. They encountered Jehu in the very field of Naboth, whom Jezebel had caused to be murdered. "Is it peace, Jehu?" said the king. "What peace? answered Jehu, so long as the fornications of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many." At these words Jehoram turned his horse's bridle and tried to make his escape, crying out at the same time to the king of Judah, "There is treason, O Ahaziah!" But Jehu darted an arrow at him, which smote him between the arms, and went out at his heart. Jehoram sank down on his knees in his chariot. Then, on the order of his chief, Bidkar, one of the captains of Jehu, took out the body of Jehoram, and threw it in the field of Naboth. Ahaziah fled by the court of the garden-house, but Jehu pursued him, shouting, "Smite him also in the chariot." Ahaziah was overtaken and wounded in the ascent leading to Gur, which is near Ibleam. He contrived, however, to reach Megiddo, where he died of his wounds. Jehu returned to Jezreël, where he found Jezebel who, with her eyes painted, and her head covered with ornaments, was looking out from a window of the palace. As Jehu entered in at the gate, she said, "Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?" Jehu looked up, and exclaimed, "Who is on my side? And there looked

out to them two or three eunuchs." He called out to them, "Throw her down. So they threw her down: and some of her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses: and Jehu trode her under foot." And then he entered the palace, and eat and drank. Afterwards he said to his followers: "Go, see now this cursed woman, and bury her; for she is a king's daughter." They went to bury Jezebel; but all that they could find of her was the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands. The dogs had torn her to pieces and devoured her. Thus was the prophecy of Elisha accomplished.* Two days after that, were brought to Jehu (who had not left Jezreël), in baskets, the heads of the seventy children of Jehoram, who had remained in Samaria: thus was the house of Ahab annihilated. The narrative of this tragical event is related in nearly the same manner by Josephus.†

The historian of the Jews calls Jezreël, Jesraïla, a city of Izaros (*μέχρι τῆς Ἰεσραήλας Ἰζάρου πόλεως συνέδραμε*).‡ Translators have given themselves much trouble concerning this expression, *Ἰζάρου πόλεως*, without being able to settle its real meaning. Even in the edition of the Greek classics of Didot, I find in the table of contents, Izari (?) urbs (Jesraëla). The explanation, however, does not seem to me to be very difficult. Jezreël was a city of the tribe of Issachar, and an unskilful copyist has very likely written *Ἰζάρου* instead of *Ἰσάχαρις*. There are constantly in the text of Josephus errors of this

* 2 Kings, ix. 15—37. † Ant. Jud. IX. vi. 4.
‡ Ant. Jud. VIII. xiii. 6.

kind, so very palpable, that an occasional addition ought not to excite astonishment.

In the Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem we find the following description :—" Civitas Maxianopoli (*aliàs* Maximianopoli).—Civitas Stradela X. Ibi sedit Achab rex et Helias prophetizavit, ibi est campus ubi David Goliath occidit. Civitas Sciopoli (*aliàs* Scythopolis, sivè Bethsan) XII." The Stradela of this Itinerary is evidently our Zerayn ; Scythopolis is Beysan, which is placed at twelve Roman miles from Zerayn ; and lastly, Maximianopolis should be ten Roman miles from Zerayn. Where can this Maximianopolis be situated ? This is what we find in the commentary of St. Jerome, at Chap. XII. of Zechariah : " Adadrimmon, pro quo LXX. transtulerunt Ῥοὼνος, urbs est juxtà Jezraëlem, quæ hoc olim vocabulo nuncupata est et hodie vocatur Maximianopolis, in campo Mageddon." In the commentary of Chap. I. of Hosea, St. Jerome says again : " Diximus Jezraëlem quæ nunc juxta Maximianopolin est." I find also, in an Itinerary drawn up from memory by Mohammed, from Nazareth to the Convent of the Carmel, to Attil, and to Djenin, passing through El-Ledjoun (Megiddo), a village called Roummaneh, situated between Djenin and El-Ledjoun. I am much inclined to believe that this village is our Adadrimmon, the more recent name of which, Maximianopolis, has disappeared to make room for the ancient appellation, as has been the case with Scythopolis, which has resumed its original name of Beth-shan, now altered into Beysan.

In the time of the Crusades, Jezreël was called

Parvum Gerinum. We read as follows in William of Tyre (xxii. 26): "Jesraheel, nunc autem vulgari appellatione dicitur Parvum Gerinum." Subsequently to the period of the Crusades, the tradition of the identity between Jezraël and Zerayn was lost, and it is only during the last fifteen years that it has been again established, never more, I presume, to become the subject of future questions.

As soon as we had finished our breakfast we started again, still marching along the flank of the hills forming the basis of the Djebel-ed-Dahy, or small Hermon. This is evidently the mountain mentioned in Psalm lxxxix. (verse 12), where it is said: "The north and the south, thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name." In Hebrew the name is written חרמון (Hermoun); the Arab Christians call the Djebel-ed-Dahy also by the name of Hermoun, which they write حرمون; from which it appears that the two [orthographies] are identical. The real Hermon is incontestably the Djebel-ech-Cheikh, the highest peak of the Anti-Lebanon; and as the Tabor is by no means a high mountain, it would be difficult to understand why two mountains, so different as the Tabor and the Anti-Lebanon, should be mentioned in the same verse, when they limit neither the north, the south, the east, nor the west, as they should do if they were meant to distinguish the four cardinal points. If, on the contrary, it is only intended to designate two contiguous mountains, such as the Tabor and the Djebel-ed-Dahy, the difficulty disappears, and we readily understand why the inspired poet should have coupled their names in

the same phrase. Moreover, it is quite positive, that St. Jerome considers the Djebel-ed-Dahy as identical with Hermon, for he writes as follows in his letter xliv. "Ad Marcellam," : "Apparebit oppidum Naïm . . . videbitur et Hermonim et torrens Endor in quo superatur Sisera." Evidently the part of the country mentioned in this passage can only be the small Hermon, or Djebel-ed-Dahy. This mountain presents a green mass, but without a single bush upon it; it is covered with thin grass, and its lower flanks are tolerably well cultivated.

From Zerayn we passed through the village of Soulèm; this is obviously the Shunem of Scripture, for, with the Arabs, Shunem and Soulèm are precisely the same. "Their border [speaking of the children of Issachar] was toward Jezreël, and Chesulloth, and Shunem."* The Philistines were encamped at Shunem, and the Israelites at Gilboa, when Saul went to consult the witch of Endor.† Abishag, the young damsel who became the wife of David, in his old age, was a Shunamite.‡ In Shunem the woman dwelt who practised hospitality towards the prophet Elisha, and to whom he predicted that she would have a son, notwithstanding the great age of her husband. This son having been born, fell sick and died, and Elisha restored him to life.§ In the Song of Solomon (vi. 13) we find these words: "Return, return, O Shulamite." Does this mean a young girl born in Shulèm, or is it a derivative of Solomon, signifying Solomon's wife? Or

* Joshua, xix. 18. † 1 Sam. xxviii. 4. ‡ 1 Kings. i. 3.
§ 2 Kings, iv. 8—37.

is it a mere epithet, meaning mild, gentle, perfect? It is impossible to decide. It would therefore be rather imprudent to conclude from this single passage, that from the remotest period, as in the present day, this place was indifferently called Shunem or Soulèm.

The upper part of the Djebel-ed-Dahy is composed of calcareous rock, but it rests upon a mass of basalt, which is to be seen piercing the surface in all directions along the flanks by which we have travelled, before descending into the Merdj-Ebni-Aâmer, to traverse the narrow portion of the plain, limited to the south by Mount Tabor, and dividing the Djebel-ed-Dahy from the range of mountains which must be crossed to reach Nazareth.

We had left, for several minutes, the last hill situated opposite El-Mezrâah, and named Tel-el-Hades; the ground over which we were moving was so swampy, that we advanced with apprehension, as at every step our horses sank up to their knees. A wide track, already marked by the trampling of hundreds of beasts of burden, and consequently safer than any other, presented itself before us, and common prudence would have pointed out that we should be wise to follow those who had preceded us. Our moukris, with their customary intelligence—or rather, more doggedly stupid than their mules and asses—were unwilling to defile themselves with the mud of the beaten path. They led their beasts nearly thirty yards off to the left, and in a moment, one, two, three, almost the whole were buried up to their nostrils. It required two long hours of useless bawling on the part of our awkward followers,

and supernatural efforts by some young and vigorous Arabs from Nayn, who had hastened to our assistance, to replace the caravan on more solid ground. In this dilemma, poor Selim exerted himself manfully, and lost his shoes in the mud, where he became engulphed up to his middle. He invented, in addition, an original method of stimulating the ardour of the poor clogged animals, by pricking them on with the point of his dagger. We were obliged to command him to desist, or else, in his earnestness, he would have secured horses and asses against the danger of being drowned in the mud, by slaughtering them at once.

As soon as we had entered the range of hills that borders the plain of Esdraelon to the east, the remainder of our march, as far as Nazareth, was truly delightful —through valleys and meadows, well watered and blooming with cultivation. When I noticed them on my first passage in the middle of winter, I surmised that all these places could not fail to be charming on the return of spring. I had guessed correctly; but the fancied picture which had called forth my admiration, was nothing when compared to the embodied reality.

Nazareth soon appeared in sight. Approached from this side, the town offers a charming aspect. It rises gently in an amphitheatre on the flank of a high mountain; and in front of it, a well-cultivated plain, planted with fine olive-trees, extends up to the convent walls of the *Fathers of the Holy Land.* A small square divides this convent from that of the Casa-Nuova, where we formerly lodged, and where we are certain to meet again the most cordial hospitality. In a few minutes

we reach the gate. With the same warmth as before, the good monks hasten to show us every attention, anticipating all our wants and wishes; and we reciprocate the most heartfelt satisfaction when pressing the hands of these pious men, who express a sincere joy in seeing us again alive, healthy and joyful, after our pilgrimage, safely accomplished without a single fatal accident.

As we approached Nazareth a gallant young horseman was seen dashing towards us at full gallop, carrying behind him a fine lively little boy, who seemed as much at his ease as if he were in an arm-chair. The new comer was a nephew of our friend Mohammed, by name Ismayl, though his countrymen invariably call him Ismayn; the child was Mohammed's own son. I shall not attempt to describe the meeting of these three children of nature, bound together by the ties of friendship and blood; the child, covered with kisses, was handed into his father's arms, whilst I told the father to set off at a gallop and embrace his family. Immediately Mohammed and Ismayl darted away like arrows, and we reached the convent, without requiring any escort, still under the strong emotion of the scene we had just witnessed, and which had awakened in our inmost hearts the memory of those we loved, who were still so distant from us.

We had scarcely time to cleanse ourselves from the mud of the road, and to begin sipping the coffee which the worthy monks had provided for us, when Mohammed entered in full costume, to invite us, Edward and myself, to partake of coffee in his own house. We most

readily accepted the invitation, and five minutes afterwards were established upon a carpeted dais, surrounded by the friends and relatives of Mohammed. He first introduced to us his mother, a respectable old lady, who was at a loss to express her gratitude for our kindness to her son. Then came his aunt, and thirdly, his wife. The two first ladies had their faces uncovered, which signified little; but the third was hermetically veiled. Judging by her form and carriage, we could easily surmise that she was a handsome woman. But our doubts on this subject were speedily removed; for our friend, to afford us the greatest proof of friendship which a Mussulman can give to another man, removed his wife's veil, and revealed to us one of the most beautiful and noble faces I had ever looked on. Unfortunately, on the arrival of the people invited to meet us, the young lady resumed her covering, which we deeply regretted. It was long since our eyes had rested on the features of so lovely a creature. Although very young, Mohammed's wife, who is also his cousin, has presented him two daughters, who must be twelve years old, and a son of seven or eight, at least.

During nearly two hours, we sustained an unceasing conversation, swallowing at the same time an enormous quantity of coffee, and smoking innumerable tchibouks; after this we returned home to the Casa-Nuova, where dinner was waiting for us. As soon as we had dispatched our usual evening's work, we hastened to rest, in the hope of making up for the sleepless night we had passed in Djenin. Our wishes were fully gratified, thanks to the cleanliness of the rooms and

beds, for which we were indebted to the hospitality of the convent.

February 28th.

This morning, at an early hour, I went, with the Abbé Michon, to take leave of the reverend father superior, and to visit for the last time the Cave of the Annunciation. Half-an-hour afterwards we were on the road to Tabarieh; MM. Hubean, Delille, and Wolf, to our great regret, went off in another direction, towards St. Jean d'Acre. We had found the company of our fellow-travellers extremely agreeable, and much regretted the necessity of parting from them.

As Edward and I have determined to show Paris to Mohammed, we have allowed him to pass twenty-four hours in Nazareth with his family; he has therefore given us, in his stead, his nephew Ismayl, and to-morrow evening he himself joins us at Tabarieh.

Let us now say a few words concerning Nazareth. Mention is often made in the Old Testament, and in Josephus,* of a Judaic sect, called the Nazarenes (Ναζαραῖοι). These were men who, in obedience to a vow, had devoted themselves to God, allowed their hair to grow, and completely abstained from wine. Josephus mentions them a second time,† on the following occasion. King Agrippa the First, restored by the Emperor Claudius to liberty and his kingdom, hastened to return to Jerusalem, and to offer numerous sacrifices as a thanksgiving to the Lord, according to the precepts of the law. He took advantage of the same circumstance to cut off the hair from a number of Nazarenes (they

* Ant. Jud. IV. iv. 4. † Ant. Jud. XIX. vi. 1.

are now called by Josephus Ναζιραῖοι, probably by some mistake of a copyist). Most certainly King Agrippa committed this very strange and arbitrary act to please the Jews, to whom the Nazarenes were an object of hatred. These last-mentioned Nazarenes were most probably Christians. But evidently our Saviour cannot have taken his name of Nazarene from this sect, into which some people might be led to think he had entered, if we consider that he was accustomed to drink wine. It is then quite certain that he received this name only because he had passed his childhood and youth in Nazareth, a small city in Galilee. With regard to this city, no allusion to it is found before the period of our Lord, and the New Testament only mentions the name.

I return now to our Itinerary. Without entering the town, we passed along the walls of the convent, and then turned immediately northward, to take the road leading to Tabarieh. Only a few hundred yards distant from Nazareth, we reached a fine spring, called the Fountain of the Virgin. Here were collected, for the purpose of washing their linen, or of fetching the water for their daily provision, a number of young women, presenting types of remarkable regularity and elegance. It appears that the women of Nazareth have long been distinguished for their personal attractions. In the sixth century, Antoninus the Martyr wrote that there were in Nazareth a number of women, exceedingly beautiful, who pretended that they had been blessed with this precious gift by the Virgin Mary. I know not if the Holy Virgin has had anything to do with

the beauty of the Christian and Mussulman women at present living in Nazareth, but I can positively assert that this beauty is not imaginary, and that the fair possessors have reason to be proud of the distinction.

Three-quarters of an hour after leaving Nazareth, we found ourselves opposite to the village of Er-Reyneh, a considerable place, built on a hill, in front of which is to be seen, at a distance of three or four thousand yards to the right, a mountain called Djebel-Sikh, on the flank of which is the spring providing the water for the sustenance of both Er-Reyneh and Safourieh. On the road, at the foot of Er-Reyneh, are two cisterns, and a fountain bearing the special name of Ayn-er-Reyneh. The trough of this fountain, as was the case at Zerayn, is an ancient sarcophagus, which must have been most probably taken from some sepulchral cave in the neighbourhood, for it is more than doubtful that Arabs should ever have given themselves the trouble of fetching it from a distance. At all events, if Er-Reyneh has taken the place of an ancient locality, it is impossible to guess what it may have been.

The ground was so completely soaked through along the road, that we were obliged to enter the fields planted with olive-trees by which it was bordered, and to obtain a height of several feet above the level of this muddy defile, in which we should otherwise have met with some accident similar to that of the day before, in the plain of Esdraëlon. After having passed the village of Er-Reyneh, which we leave to our left, we proceed in a north-north-easterly direction, having directly before us the snow-white summit of the Djebel-ech-Cheikh.

After marching twenty minutes, we descry, at abo five hundred yards off to our left, a hill, circular at th summit, as if it had received that shape from the han of man, and covered with the ruins of a village calle el-Mechhad. In Arabic, this word means a place c assembly, a sepulchre, and, by extension, a consecrate structure raised over a sepulchre, and also a place c martyrdom. Ismayl, who gives me this name, neve thinks of adding, that here is also to be seen, according t his brother Mussulmen, one of the tombs of the prophe Jonah, called Naby-Younès. Quaresmius relates tha according to tradition, this village is built on the site c Gath-hepher, which was the birth-place of Jonah. This last-named locality belonged to the tribe of Zebulu for we read in Joshua (xix. 12, 13). The border (c Zebulun) "turned from Sarid eastward toward the sun rising unto the border of Chisloth-tabor, and then goet out to Daberath, and goeth up to Japhia, and from thenc passeth on along on the east to Gittah-hepher, to Ittah kazin, and goeth out to Remmon-methoar to Neah." I am convinced that the Chisloth-tabor which is men tioned here as situated on the frontier of the tribe o Zebulun, is the same as the Chesulloth mentioned i verse 18th following, as being situated on the frontie of the tribe of Issachar, for these two tribes were evi dently bordering upon each other. With regard to this Chesulloth, I have already said elsewhere, that it is identical with the modern village called Iksâl, lying close to Mount Tabor. Has not Tourâan taken the place of Methoar, which name we have just read!

* 2 Kings xiv. 25.

Nothing is more possible; but nevertheless I am far from asserting it as a fact.

St. Jerome, in his preface to the Book of the Prophet Jonah, expresses himself as follows :—"Geth in secundo Saphorim milliario quæ hodie appellatur Dio Cæsarea, euntibus Tiberiadem, haud grandis est viculus, ubi et sepulchrum ejus ostenditur." This passage seems to me to be decisive : in El-Mechhad is a supposed tomb of the prophet Jonah ; the site of El-Mechhad is placed at a distance of about two Roman miles from Safourieh ; I consequently do not hesitate in identifying Gath-hepher with El-Mechhad.

A quarter of an hour after passing El-Mechhad and before the Bir-ech-Chemaly (a well) that is to be seen at the foot of the hill upon which the ruins of this village are placed, the road turns abruptly off to the east in the direction of Kafr-Kenna. Considerably further on, and precisely in the same direction, we descry a large village named Tourâan ; then much further still to the right, a second village called Nimrin.

As we descended into the fertile valley, on the opposite side of which Kafr-Kenna stands, we came up with two Bedouin horsemen, who were lazily stretched on the grass, by the road side, while their horses, the bridles passed round the staffs of their long lances that were planted into the ground, were browsing such food as they could gather. These two agreeable personages entered into conversation with Ismayl, and thinking they were not likely to be understood by any body else, reproached him, though in friendly terms, for the protection afforded to us by his presence. I immediately

thanked them, in Arabic, for their good intentions, assuring them at the same time that we had powder and ball for all intruders, and this speedily terminated our conversation.

Nothing can be more green and smiling than the lovely valley which we have to cross before entering the village of Kafr-Kenna. Every kind of vegetable is here in full bloom, and as far advanced towards ripeness as in the neighbourhood of Paris in the beginning of June, when this month happens to be fine and warm, which is not always the case. We are now at no great distance from the Djebel-Sikh, the wooded mountain which I have already mentioned. At the foot of this mountain, I am told by Ismayl, there is a fine spring called Ayn-Mahil, which also gives its name to a neighbouring village.

At the entrance of Kafr-Kenna is a fountain, the trough of which is formed by the body of a handsome ancient sarcophagus, ornamented with wreaths and disks on the four faces. The presence of this sarcophagus is enough to establish that Kafr-Kenna has taken the place of an ancient locality. On arriving at the village we hastened to alight from our horses to visit the Greek church, which is supposed to have been built in commemoration of the first miracle of our Saviour, when he changed the water into wine.

Here an important question presents itself. Is Kafr-Kenna really on the site of the Cana of the Gospel? I believe it is, and shall subjoin my reasons for so thinking, although the contrary opinion has been maintained, with great ability, by the Rev. Dr. Robinson,

to whom, instinctively, any Roman Catholic tradition, which he calls monkish, is always a subject of stern suspicion.

From the top of the mountain crowned by the oualy of Naby-Sayn (designated to him by his guide under the name of Naby-Ismayl, which I must believe to be erroneous, as Mohammed who inhabits Nazareth and is a Mussulman, invariably called it Naby-Sayn), —from the top then of the Naby-Sayn, Robinson's guide pointed out to him, to the northward and in the extreme distance, almost as far as the horizon, a ruined locality called Kana-el-Djalil. This name was translated to him thus, "Cana of Galilee;" but such a translation I cannot admit. The words Cana of Galilee, supposing even that the country of Galilee should ever have been called El-Djalil in Arabic, could never have been expressed by Kana-el-Djalil. This last word is positively an adjective, meaning great, or illustrious. I then most conscientiously declare that, according to my interpretation, and I dare say according to the interpretation of any native scholar, the words قانا الجليل cannot have any other meaning than that of *Kana the Great*, or Kana the Illustrious.

This ruined Kana is to the eastward of Kafr-Menda, on the northern limit of the great plain of El-Battouf, and about three leagues (nine English miles) distant to the northward of Safourieh, being thus situated at a distance of four or five leagues (twelve or fifteen English miles) at the least, to the north-west of Nazareth. Can this considerable distance be made to accord with the narrative of Saint John the Evangelist?

I think not. I minutely noted down the time we occupied in going from Nazareth to Kafr-Kenna, amounting to an hour and thirty-five minutes, though we made several circuits through the fields to avoid the sloughs of the low grounds about Er-Reyneh, and halted twice, once before this first village, and again before El-Mechhad. This time nearly corresponds with a distance of three Roman miles. I cannot understand how Burckhardt contrived to employ three hours and a half in travelling over this distance; most certainly he must have loitered, without occasion, two good hours on the road. Let us adhere to the exact text of the Gospel. On the day after Christ had received as his disciples, Andrew, Simon and Peter, he determined to go into Galilee (*τῇ ἐπαύριον ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*), and he met with Philip who was from Bethsaida. As Andrew and Peter had done before, he also followed the Saviour. As they went along, Philip encountered Nathaniel and persuaded him also to listen to Christ, and follow with the rest. On the third day,* a marriage took place in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there; and both Jesus and his disciples were invited to the marriage; it was at this wedding that the miracle of changing the water into wine was performed, to make up for the wine that was deficient. There were there six water-pots of stone placed on the ground. Jesus commanded that they should be filled with water, and that being done, that they should be carried to the governor of the feast. It was then found that the

* Chap. 2, v. 1.

water had become good wine. From Cana, Jesus proceeded to Capernaum, unquestionably situated on the border of the Lake of Genesareth. But then, I ask, how could Jesus, starting from Nazareth for the purpose of proceeding to Capernaum, have thought of going out of his way four or five leagues to the northward, whilst his easiest, shortest, and most natural course was evidently to take the beaten road from Nazareth to Capernaum, which road passed of necessity by Kafr-Kenna? For my part, I need no other proof to identify this village with the Cana of the Gospel, and this simple reasoning, in my opinion, completely destroys the whole of the seductive arguments of the learned Dr. Robinson.

Quaresmius, who was well acquainted with the two localities of Kana-el-Djalil, and of Kafr-Kenna (which he calls Sepher-Kenna), declares that his opinion is in favour of the last, though he dares not presume absolutely to reject the tradition which decides in favour of the first. But there is nothing surprising in the fact that two places at no great distance from each other, and bearing both of them a name sounding very like that of the spot where the first miracle of our Saviour was performed, should have equally contended for the honour of being that venerable village.

After the precise details which I have quoted from the Gospel of St. John I cannot admit what Dr. Robinson says of Kana-el-Djalil:* "Which, likewise, is sufficiently near to Nazareth, to accord with all the circumstances of the history." This assumed

* Vol. iii., p. 205.

accord does not exist, for Jesus was travelling *on foot* with his mother, his disciples, and his cousins (οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ), from Nazareth to Capernaum, and nobody can reasonably conceive that with such an object under such circumstances, he should have made a circuit of at least ten leagues, or thirty English miles.

That an old tradition has indeed pretended to identify the Cana of the Gospel with the Kana-el-Djalil, I am far from denying; but that it is merely since the sixteenth century that monastic purposes and convenience have definitely recognised Kafr-Kenna as the site of the place mentioned in the Gospel,* I positively contest. Quaresmius expresses himself as follows, when stating the motives for his preference: "Posterior hæc sentencia mihi valdè probabilis videtur (licet alteram rejicere non audeam) quoniam proximior Nazareth . . . . . et quia potest adinveniri memoria ecclesiæ constructæ in loco miraculi."

Quaresmius wrote between 1616 and 1620, and Dr. Robinson would lead us to suppose that it is exclusively on the faith of this book, that modern tradition decides in favour of Kafr-Kenna. This is quite a mistake. Bonifacius, in the middle of the preceding century, places Cana at a distance of three miles to the northward of Nazareth, in the close neighbourhood *of a large and fertile plain. This last circumstance*, adds Dr. Robinson, *seems much more applicable to Kana-el-Djalil.* It is much to be regretted that this learned expositor should have neglected (I cannot guess for

* Robinson, same passage.

what reason) to visit Kafr-Kenna. By not studying this place *de visu*, he exposed himself to the charge of acting like a judge who pronounces condemnation without hearing the case. Had he examined the spot he would have found that Kafr-Kenna commands a magnificent plain, the Merdj-es-Sabal or Merdj-ed-Dahab, the *Golden plain*. It seems to me that this name is sufficiently significative, to show that Bonifacius was well founded in asserting that Cana was on the border *of a large and fertile plain*.

Dr. Robinson might have also ascertained from actual observation, that Quaresmius was likewise well founded in asserting that a tradition is still preserved in Kafr-Kenna, of a church built on the identical spot of the miracle. A small church of very modern structure is still standing there, and the duty is attended to by a priest of the Greek persuasion. This church contains, roughly fitted into a stone bench, two enormous stone vases, which the priest showed to me as being two of the six water-pots used in the miracle of our Lord Jesus Christ. I declare that these two vases, which Dr. Clarke calls *fragments of water jugs*, are perfectly entire and of very ancient workmanship. I do not pretend to assert that they are the genuine implements of the miracle, but I maintain that they are as old as the period at which it took place.

Close by the modern church are apparent and easily distinguished ruins of a religious building, aged several centuries, and which, after the destruction of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, was transformed into a mosque. This is a fact which I can sustain without fear of

contradiction. Now a petty village like Kafr-Kenna is not the spot where a mosque of such importance would have been constructed, even at the highest period of the Mohammedan enthusiasm.

If we trace the series of historical traditions, we find again Adrichomius, in the latter end of the sixteenth century, Anselmus in 1507, and Breydenbach, in 1483, who place Cana three miles to the north of Sepphoris. These authorities evidently mean Kana-el-Djalil. Marino-Sanuto, in 1321, assigns the same site to the Cana of the Gospel. Sævulf, in 1103, describes Cana as being six miles to the northward of Nazareth, on a hill, and he adds that all that remains of it is a monastery called the Architriclinium. As a compensation, Phocas, in the same century, says that having started from Akka, he went to Sepphoris, from thence to Cana, and from thence to Nazareth. Evidently the Cana visited by Phocas is not the Kana-el-Djalil, but certainly Kafr-Kenna. In the eighth century, St. Willibald found in Cana a large church, in which he was shown one of the six water-pots of the wedding of Cana. Antoninus the Martyr, towards the end of the sixth century, likewise visited Cana. He says nothing of a church; but he mentions having seen there two water-pots, in one of which he renewed the former miracle. The following are his own expressions: "Ex quibus hydriæ duæ ibi sunt. Implevi aquâ unam et protuli ex eâ vinum." * My readers will readily understand that I merely quote this passage without presuming to corroborate the fact.

St. Jerome, in his Onomasticon, at the word Cana,

* Itinerary, part 1.

distinguishes two localities of that name, though Reland differs from him; but other authorities, including Cellarius, confirm the opinion. St. Jerome says: "Cana usque ad Sidonem majorem; est quippe et altera minor ad cujus distinctionem major hæc dicitur. Fuit autem Cana in tribu Aser." The words "Cana usque ad Sidonem majorem," are merely the literal translation of the four last words of verse 28 of chap. xix. of Joshua (ומנח עד-צידן רבה) "even unto great Zidon." St. Jerome certainly did not mean that there were two Sidons, for he would in that case have spoken of the smaller one. Where was it placed? The question has never been discussed. What is argued here is, that there are two Canas, one of which was called the Greater. I presume, therefore, I shall be allowed to recognise this Cana the Greater in *Kana-el-Djalil*, which name has precisely that signification.

In conclusion, I fully adopt the tradition which places the Cana of Scripture at Kafr-Kenna, because its identification with Kana-el-Djalil cannot possibly be made to agree with the Gospel of St. John.

After having visited the modern church, we examined the ancient one, which Ismayl called a mosque; and from thence, the Greek priest who accompanied us pointed out to me, in the immediate vicinity, some heaps of rubbish, which he designated Beit-Semâoun, the house of Simon. The reader will remember that one of the disciples of Jesus was Simon the Cananite, so called because he was a native of Cana. Another, Nathanael, was also a native of Cana, and is considered the same as Bartholomew.

Our inspection of Kafr-Kenna [illegible] we hastened to mount our horses once more, and after having passed through the ruin called Jeb-Yemmun, found ourselves, when we had advanced a quarter of a league on the right flank of an extensive valley [illegible] cultivated and which I have already named. It is the Merdj es-Sabal, or Merdj-ed-Dabah, which we [illegible] marching half way up the ascent, through [illegible] and meadows enamelled with beautiful flowers. The direction of the Merdj es Sabal, parallel to which our road runs [illegible] the north.

An hour and a half after having left Kafr-Kenna we passed some ruins situated on our left, commanding the Merdj es-Sabal. These ruins are called Kachaneh, though I must observe that this name, signified to me by Ismayl as pronounced Kabchaneh by Mohammed. Ten minutes afterwards we pass an ancient cistern hewn from the rock, the square opening of which is provided on the inside with an edge, which shows that the mouth must have formerly had a lid fixed in the groove thus formed. Almost immediately afterwards we found in the rocks a second cistern of exactly the same construction.

Towards the eastern extremity of the Merdj-es-Sabal, Ismayl points out to me from a distance other ruins bearing the name of Kharbet-Maskanah, close to which is a cistern called Birket-Maskanah. I cannot ascertain to what ancient place this modern name can be referred. With regard to Kachaneh, I am inclined to identify it with Kishon, belonging to the tribe of

Issachar.* This same locality is again named in chap. xxi. v. 28 of the same book, with the following description: "Kishon with her suburbs" (pasture grounds). This agrees perfectly with the position of the ruins of Kachaneh; but then it would be necessary to carry back thus far the limits of the tribe of Issachar, and to set aside the analogy between the names of Kishon of the village, and Kison of the river that flows towards Carmel, in the plain of Esdraëlon or Jezreël. It is true that the text of Joshua does not in the least place Kishon in the vicinity of Carmel, but rather at a distance from that mountain.

A few minutes after meeting the second cistern, we turned off to the right from the Merdj-es-Sabal, and halted to breakfast under an olive-tree. The summit of Mount Tabor is now to our right, or due south of the spot where we have halted, but at least two leagues (six miles) distant from us. Unfortunately we have no time to spare, and have still a long march before us ere we reach Tabarieh; therefore we cannot afford making so long a circuit as that which would enable us to visit the Holy Mountain. We lose no time after our repast, and immediately resume our march. In a few minutes we reach the village of Ech-Chedjara, where, on the 16th of April, 1799, the Turkish army, amounting to 25,000 men, were beaten back by a handful of French soldiers. The glorious combat of that day is called in our annals the battle of Mount Tabor—an action which alone would establish the reputation of the two commanding generals, Bonaparte and Kléber.

* Joshua, xix. 20.

Ech-Chedjara is a miserable village, the approaches to which are bristled with enormous hedges of cactus. The road passes to the right of the village, and by a cistern deeply hollowed under ground. A little further on is a circular mound, only two or three yards in height, on the top of which are to be seen the ruins of a religious building, which, originally a Roman temple, was at a later period transformed into a Christian church. The plan of the building is a parallelogram thirty feet long by eighteen broad. The walls, of fine hewn stone, are still several feet high. Six columns formerly adorned the interior, and the broken shafts of five are yet standing in their original places. The two columns of the lower extremity are distant six feet from the long side walls, and four feet and a half from each other. The four other columns are planted at regular intervals of nine feet each, beginning from the two at the lower extremity, which rest against solid masses of stone-work, which connect them with the wall. In the long side wall on the right, at a distance of fifteen feet from the lower extremity, a square door is constructed, nearly four feet wide, all the upper part of which has disappeared. It projects so as to form a kind of porch, on the wall of the church. At a distance of nine feet to the right of this door, a small window is pierced in the wall. The eastern position of this building is such, that the door opened to the northward. In front of the inclosure, two broken shafts of columns are lying on the mound.

Amongst the few large blocks to be found within the consecrated circuit is a capital of rough workmanship,

which resembles an imitation of the Corinthian order, and has not a very antique appearance. A number of flat slabs both outside and within the building resemble Christian tombstones. On one of these is traced in characters three inches high the word ΔOKI. A second slab bears the two letters $\frac{\Delta}{\Gamma}$ placed one over the other. The *deltas* (D) of these two vestiges of inscriptions have their right inclined strokes in relievo, rounded off inwards towards the upper angle of the letter, which peculiarity marks a comparatively recent date. From this indication I consider these fragments as of Byzantine origin.

Close to this spot, in the midst of huge masses of stones lying by the side of the road, I found an enormous block of trachyte (a kind of black porous lava), which seems to have formed the lid of a sarcophagus. It presents a long cavity, nearly seven inches deep, the sides of which are cut vertically, while the ends are rounded off like the bottom of an oven. This cavity is also furnished at the lower part with a groove, that becomes broader as it deepens. This block, so strangely carved, is eighteen inches thick.

After having delayed at Ech-Chedjara long enough to investigate the singular ruin I have just described, I hastened to take from the top of the mound upon which it lies, the bearings of the principal localities which were then immediately under our view. Exactly to the eastward of Ech-Chadjara, and three thousand yards distant, at the utmost (a little more than half an hour's march, according to Ismayl), is the village of Kafr-Sebt; to the south-eastward, and distant

two hours' march (twelve or fifteen thousand yards) to a place called Kafr Kemeh, or Kemah: and lastly in a south-south-east direction, and distant six hours' march, to Kaukab.

I am unable to ascertain the history of Kafr-Seht. Josephus mentions two places in Galilee, the names of which bear some analogy to this. Saab Sabe, and Seph (Σαφ). The first is designated as the country of Eleazar, son of Sameas, who distinguished himself at the defence of Jotapata.* Seph is one of the fortresses of Upper Galilee, which Josephus placed in a state of defence to resist the Romans.† It is very possible that Kafr Seht may have been one of these Galilean cities, supposing always that the two names should not be applied to the same place, as I am much inclined to believe.

Kafr Kemeh, or Kemah, cannot be identified with any ancient locality that I am acquainted with. With regard to Kaukab, the Rev. Dr. Robinson has established, in a most satisfactory manner, that it is the Castle of Belvoir, or Beauvoir, a stronghold often mentioned in the history of the Crusades.

From Eth Chedjara we hastened on to the village of El Loubieh, a place of tolerable size, with an ancient aspect, although I recognised no ruins there, with the exception of those of the houses thrown down by the earthquake of the 1st January, 1837. Robinson has, however, found El-Loubieh mentioned in the "Life of Saladin," by Beha-ed-Dyn. A fine well-cultivated plain extends to the southward of El-Loubieh, but on a much lower

* Bel. Jud. III. vii. 21. † Bel. Jud. II. xxi. 6.

level than the site of the village; this plain is called Merdj-el-Loubieh. Our road commands this plain at its northern extremity, and passes by two wells, which are called Biâr-el-Loubieh. The hill, along the side of which we are marching, extends southward, so as to form the left flank of the Merdj. In this direction, at a distance of nearly two hundred yards from us at the utmost, is a hillock covered with large fragments of rock, which seem to be disposed in regular order along the ground. But it is growing late, and we have no leisure to examine the fact; we are therefore obliged to pass hastily by. At this moment we descry, in the distance on our right, and towards the other extremity of the Merdj-el-Loubieh, a village called Sayadah.

A little beyond the Biâr-el-Loubieh, the road passes by the ruins of a khan, and enters the plain of Hattin, long celebrated as being the scene of the disastrous battle which accomplished the ruin of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. We descry, about three thousand yards off to our left, the summits of two hills commanding the plain; these are the horns of Hattin (Qoroun-Hattin). At the foot of these hills are heaps of rubbish marking the site of the village of Hattin. The plain we are now crossing is uneven, and broken by hillocks. A number of muddy ravines, strewed with blocks of lava, furrow it in many places, and we often observe that these blocks are connected with volcanic beds, still remaining in their original position. Everywhere the ground is moist, and covered with the richest vegetation; beautiful flowers show themselves at every step,

and, amongst them, a fine Galega, with violet blossoms and violet leaves; this I take to be the *Galega officinalis*, which has become an ornamental garden flower, often seen in our parterres. Here it grows in wild abundance, but equally graceful and attractive.

Advancing a little onward, we descry, about six thousand yards to our left, a hillock that seems to be crowned by an extensive ruin. Ismayl tells me that it is the Qalaat-el-Hammam. Amongst the "fenced cities" of the tribe of Naphtali * is mentioned *Hammath*, in the vicinity of Chinnereth, which has given its name to the Sea of Chinnereth, or Lake of Genesareth, or Tiberias. This Hammath is probably the same as our Qalaat-el-Hammam. A town called Hamath-dor is mentioned † amongst the three cities of the tribe of Naphtali, assigned to the tribe of Levi. Is it the same as the fortified city already mentioned in the portion of country allotted to Naphtali? Cohen conceives that it is, notwithstanding the addition of the surname of *Dor* which is now added. I am inclined to adopt the same opinion. Unfortunately, I neglected to inspect the place, which seems to be exceedingly curious, and in which Dr. Robinson, from the description of it given by Buckhardt, Irby, and Mangles, recognises the fortified caverns, placed near Arbela, in Galilee, twice mentioned by Josephus, and the more minutely described by him, as it was he himself who put them in a state of defence. He calls them in his "Life" (parag. 37) the Grotto of Arbela (Ἀρβηλον σπήλαιον), and in the Jewish War (II. xx. 6), the grotto in the neigh-

* Joshua, xix. 35. † Joshua, xxi. 32.

bourhood of the Lake of Genesareth (τὰ περὶ Γεννησὰρ τὴν λίμνην σπήλαια).

The name applied by Robinson to this locality is that of Kalaat-ibn-Mâan. This name differs materially from that repeated to me by Ismayl and Mohammed. But as Robinson, and the travellers who preceded him, all agree in placing this ancient fortress on the steep flanks of the Ouad-el-Hammam, it is very possible that we are all equally right, although I naturally give the preference to the name I have ascertained myself. As in Hattin, Robinson succeeded in procuring the indication of the very apparent ruins situated near the Qalaat, the name given for them being Irbid; the identification which he proposes in consequence seems to me most satisfactory. The Arbela of the great battle of Alexander is now called Irbil; and between Irbid, and Irbil, the difference is so small, that the Irbid of Galilee may probably give the modern name of another ancient Arbela.

As the day was declining fast, we were obliged to quicken our pace, though our interest was strongly excited by this plain of Hattin, where so much Christian blood was shed in former times, in combat with the warriors of Saladin, and by these memorable hills (the horns of Hattin), the last stand of King Guy de Lusignan and his handful of knights, who sustained three assaults before they surrendered. We were accordingly proceeding at a smart pace, when Ismayl suddenly led me out of the beaten road, to the left, towards the edge of a deep ravine. There some basaltic rocks were seen protruding their dark masses above the high grass.

"Chouf," said the Mussulman (look); "Dè el-hedjar, hedjar el-hhamsé khobzat," (these stones are the stones of the five loaves). This is then the place, according to Mohammedan as well as Christian tradition, where the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves was accomplished. And certainly, it would have been difficult to have selected a spot for preaching salvation, where the eyes of the listeners could have wandered over a more magnificent panorama. If the tradition which assigns this as the place is founded on fact, as I have no reason to doubt, our Saviour selected for his vivifying word, one of the most beautiful scenes to be found in the world.

After having halted a moment, to pick up some fragments of the rock, we resumed our march. From this place to Tabarieh, the road continually descends, and in less than half an hour we entered this desolate town; now, without exaggeration, reduced to a mere heap of rubbish, since the tremendous earthquake by which it was completely overthrown. The inclosing fortifications are in a state painful to behold; the walls have fallen in a complete mass, heaped over each other; the towers are rent asunder, and lying right and left. Ill-fated city! A few houses have been rebuilt by the Jews, but the remainder lie prostrate, and are not likely to rise again for ages to come.

After having taken a turn or two through the ruins and looked at the cleft walls, that appear ready to fall with the slightest movement, we halted before the house of M. Weisemann, a German Jew, who has settled in Tabarieh, and practises there, after a fashion of

his own, the duties of hospitality. But let us not anticipate !

We are delighted at having reached the end of our day's journey, and at finding ourselves housed in what appear like comfortable lodgings. A room with a most beautiful view of the lake and of the mountains on the eastern shore, is given us with a *bed for seven !* Fortunately, we have our camp-cots, and accommodate ourselves as well as we can. The house has something of a clean and animated look which raises our spirits, and we feel too happy to have arrived here without accident.

M. Weisemann, our host, is the same little, fat individual who trotted before us, on a jackass, on the day we left El-Bireh for Jerusalem. We are quite delighted at seeing once more his honest, bustling countenance : Madame Weisemann, who is very obliging, might be considered a pretty woman, if she were not ten or twelve feet in circumference. All were exceedingly hungry, and dinner was brought in—a real dinner, with a European look, though of inferior cookery ; but nevertheless from its late rarity, we enjoyed it heartily. The fish from the lake appear to us especially most delicate food, and pleasant to the taste ; they have not the countless bones of common fresh-water fish, and suit our palates to a nicety.

After dinner we retire to rest as soon as possible ; I on the bed, which was resigned to me in compliment to my rank as leader of the caravan ; the rest on their accustomed couches. But, cots or beds, we all spent the night in furious ejaculations against a certain class

of the inhabitants of Tabarieh. The Mussulmen have a saying that—"The queen of the fleas dwells in Tabarieh." They have millions of reasons for this assertion, but why do they not include her court and innumerable armies?

March 1st.

We were not enamoured of our couches, as we had many motives for leaving them early. For my own part I was up with the lark, and, after a first look of admiration through our window, at this magnificent Lake of Genesareth, the Abbé and I hastened to the site of the ancient Tiberias. But we had first to traverse the whole of the modern Tiberias, a short operation; two or three minutes' walk, at the utmost, takes us to the gate of the town,—and this gate is perhaps one of the most curious relics to be seen here. Ever since the visitation of the earthquake, the wooden folding-doors have become jammed in with the heap of rubbish fallen from the walls through which it was pierced, so that it remains now only half closed. But nobody minds it, and things are likely to remain in this state as long as the wood of which the gate is composed survives the attacks of time.

It is necessary to make an effort to fancy that we are on the shores of the Lake of Genesareth. Here there are no longer any veiled figures, but the faces you see are those of confessed females, dressed like Jewish women in Germany or Lorraine; the men wear partly a European costume, particularly the round hat, which we are surprised to find transplanted to such a place. Many of these men wear the ample surtout of the

Syrian Jews, but as it is identically the same as that of the Polish and German Jews—and as they bear the round hat, or fur cap, the illusion is not destroyed. It is only after your head has been exposed, during several minutes, to the rays of a furious sun, that you are reminded of being in Syria. At Tabarieh you are on the water's edge it is true; but the beach is dreadfully hot, and looks like a stove.

We have, in the first place, contrived to creep under some large vaults of the middle ages, which seem to have belonged to a religious structure of the time of the Crusades. They are quite close to the shore, and are only used now as sewers for every kind of filth. The Jews of the neighbourhood, astonished to see us enter such a sink, crowded round to gaze on the inquisitive strangers, and amongst the number, was a female from Oran, who demanded of me in the Arabic spoken in Algiers, if we were Frenchmen? On my answering in the affirmative, she began to shower forth a series of cordial benedictions upon us: "Because," said she, "the French have been the liberators of my race, and Heaven must reward them." However, this good woman, notwithstanding the happiness of living in Africa, near the liberators of her race, has followed her husband to Tabarieh, whither they have travelled, with other people of their own religion, to wait for the advent of the Messiah, and to die in that vain expectation.

Leaving these vaults, we crossed what is called the Bazaar. The name sounds like a mockery; for this bazaar is composed of three or four huts, one of which

is a butcher's shambles, and the others are nondescript shops, in which, judging from their appearance, nothing is sold. Before the store-houses of this bazaar are sheds made of branches, supported by shafts of columns taken from the ruins of the ancient Tiberias; and, under these sheds, three or four Turks or Arabs, in tattered garments, are squatting on the pavement and silently smoking their tchibouks. Our passing does not seem to rouse them from their apathy, and they find it infinitely more interesting to contemplate the smoke curling upwards from their lips than to gaze on our strange faces. The Abbé and I readily understood this placid indifference, and pursue our own way as regardless of them as they are of us.

We are now outside the walls of Tabarieh. There is not a cloud in the sky! Every corner of the ground is decked with a lovely garment of plants and flowers; everywhere on the waters that reflect the azure sky are thousands of water-fowl, flying, sporting, and diving. Before us lie the ruins of the Tiberias of Herod, levelled with the ground, and over which the plough passes with each succeeding year, displacing the innumerable shafts of columns that still rise above the fields. Where these columns terminate, are now two or three decayed buildings, ruins of yesterday, built by Ibrahim Pacha, over the warm springs of Emmaus. In the far horizon lies the green valley of the Jordan, limited to the westward by the mountains of Judæa, and to the eastward by the high lands of the country of the Ammonites. And though last, not least, on the opposite side of the lake, are the rich and beautiful mountains of Haouran. If

we turn towards the north, beyond Tabarieh, we see the hamlet of Medjdel, and the hills that border the lake above Genesareth and Capernaum, forming the first spurs of the range that we shall have to climb to reach Safed. In whatever direction you turn, you look on the soil marked by the footsteps of our Saviour and his beloved disciples, and the waters upon which they sailed; and all bright and glowing with the most translucent atmosphere. You may traverse the world without finding a panorama to compete with this. It was impossible to restrain our emotions whilst contemplating this magnificent creation of the Lord, this blessed and hallowed spot, where the Messiah has left, at every step, a token of his presence.

We continue to advance by the road that winds along the border of the lake, and leads from Tabarieh to el-Hammam (the Baths). Here we constantly pass men and women going to or returning from the baths. To the right of the road, as far as the hills which form the basis of the mountain upon which Tabarieh stands, cultivated fields branch out, strewed with shafts of columns, some standing, but the greater number prostrate; whilst in the side of the mountain appear some few sepulchral excavations. To the left are several enormous square mounds of masonry, apparently of Roman workmanship, protruding a few yards into the lake. Of what building did they form a portion? It would be very difficult to ascertain at present. Perhaps they are the piers of a small harbour where the boats anchored for shelter. Perhaps also they were connected with a palace, of which some pavilions

were advanced in this manner, for the purpose of procuring coolness from the transparent waters of the lake. For myself, all I seek this morning is an ample provision of the beautiful fluviatic shells attached to the stones under the water. When gazing at the immense quantity of these shells, with a marine appearance, and which form a thick edging along the beach, as they have been cast up dead by the retiring waves, you might almost fancy yourself on the sea shore. It becomes necessary to taste the water of the lake, thus ascertaining that it is fresh, to shake off the illusion.

Two or three hours soon glide away in such a place. The Abbé has met with great success in botanising, and the heat is becoming intolerable. Prudence and a keen appetite induce us to hasten back to the Hôtel Weisemann, where breakfast is waiting for us. We arrive half scorched, and decide to remain within until three o'clock, when the hottest part of the day will be over, so as to avoid another *coup-de-soleil*. My head still suffers occasionally since my promenade at Sebastieh, and I am not inclined to invite a repetition.

After dinner we have been looking on, while smoking, at the completion of Madame Weisemann's portrait; the good lady having put on her finest attire, to offer our friend Belly a model more worthy of his skill. The amiable original has taken into it her head that the picture is intended for a present to herself—a vain illusion, as Belly has determined to carry off his master-piece with him. I have written many notes, and studied from our balcony the eastern shore of the lake; I have accurately determined, on my Zimmermann's

map, the mouth of the Ouad-es-Samak, and have assisted the Abbé in arranging his herbarium. Time has rolled on in these employments: it is now three o'clock, and we commence our walk along the foot of the walls, whilst we seek for insects. Our success is prodigious; we collect many fine specimens in great abundance, and only return home when night approaches.

Our evening passed, as usual, without any incident worthy of notice. To-morrow morning we intend to breakfast at the spot where the Jordan issues from the lake, and order our horses to be ready at seven o'clock. There is no danger of our not being up in time; our troublesome nocturnal companions will take care to keep us waking.

March 2nd.

The horses are ready at the appointed hour, and we set off, taking with us only Matteo and our moukri, Saïd. The weather is as fine as yesterday, and already promises to be quite as warm. A few clouds are wandering through the sky, and induce us to hope that the sun may leave us a few occasional moments of respite. We are following exactly the same road which the Abbé and I had taken yesterday morning. Keeping then quite close to the shore of the lake whilst passing along the ruins of Tiberias, we arrived in half an hour in front of the ruined buildings composing the establishment of the warm baths of El-Hammam. I had correctly estimated them from a distance. They are mere crumbling, paltry constructions, painful to look on. The spring, which supplies these baths with water,

is of great heat, and runs off into the lake by two or three small drains, lined with a crust of sediment, which appears white in the one, and green in the other.

This spring has been celebrated from earliest antiquity. Pliny mentions it; but the account of Josephus is much more minute. We read in his book,* concerning the foundation of Tiberias, that Herod the Tetrarch (who was bound in close friendship with the Emperor Tiberius) built a city in the finest part of Galilee, on the lake of Genesareth, and named it Tiberias. He adds, that the thermæ, or hot springs, called Emmaüs, adjoin the city: *Θερμὰ δὲ οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἔνεστιν ἐν κώμῃ, Ἐμμαοῦς ὄνομα αὐτῇ.* This name of Emmaüs (or Ammaüs, for Josephus writes it both ways), is explained in a second passage,† where he tells us that Vespasian, having left the camp which he had established at Ammaüs, before Tiberias, proceeded to Gamala. When on this subject, Josephus observes in a parenthesis, "that the name Ammaüs, when interpreted, means warm waters. And there indeed, is a spring of warm water, very beneficial for the cure of various diseases (*μεθερμηνευομένη δὲ Ἀμμαοῦς θερμὰ λέγοιτ' ἂν ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πηγῇ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτήδειος*)."

Vespasian had selected this spot for the site of his camp, because after having entered Tiberias without opposition, he had still to reduce the town of Taricheæ, situated towards the southern point of the lake, and within the walls of which the Jews had retired. Irby and Mangles have previously remarked, to the north-

* Ant. Jud. XVIII. ii. 3. † Bel. Jud. IV. i. 3.

ward of the springs of El-Hammam, some distinct trenches, uniting the lake with the mountain commanding it, and surmised that these were the trenches of Vespasian's camp. Josephus relates that the Jews of Taricheæ, led on by their chief Jesus, attacked this camp while the Roman soldiers were busy constructing its surrounding wall, and succeeded, not only in routing the working parties, but even in destroying a portion of the works already completed.* But the Romans soon rallied, and fell in their turn upon the assailants, overthrowing, scattering, and pursuing them sword in hand, to the boats which were waiting to receive the fugitives. Keeping then their boats off shore, but within bow-shot of the Romans, the Jews, (says Josephus rather humourously,) engaged in a naval combat with enemies standing on the land.

A short distance after passing the trenches of Vespasian's camp, we begin to find considerable ruins of buildings constructed from blocks of lava, unsquared like those which form the walls of Tiberias. The foundations only are remaining, but they are distinct and easily traced. We can make out inclosures, stone avenues, buttresses, and bases of round towers that commanded the lake. The wall of a quay is still perceptible for a considerable extent along the shore. It is not easy to mistake the name of this ancient city. It is undoubtedly Taricheæ, to which subject I shall presently return.

These ruins appear during nearly half an hour, then they cease to show themselves for about ten minutes, and then appear again over a much smaller extent.

* Bel. Jud. III. x. 1.

Are we to infer from this interval of a thousand yards, that we are passing through the remains of two distinct cities? It is difficult to say. Perhaps the most southern is the oldest, which at a later period drew nearer to El-Hammam and Tiberias. Besides, it is not absolutely impossible that the traces of that portion of the city, which may have occupied the interval of one thousand yards, now vacant, have entirely disappeared, although it seems rather strange, that all along this full extent there does not remain a single block of lava.

Saïd, when questioned by me as to the name of the town, the vestiges of which we are now passing, answered, Kedes. I am completely at a loss to find out the origin of this denomination, which I find also upon the valuable map of Zimmermann.

Beyond the ruins situated to the southward of Tarichææ, the mountain rapidly recedes from the shore, and there the Rhôr commences, or to speak more intelligibly, the moist plain of the Jordan. After a good half hour's march, we arrive at the southern point of a small swampy valley, which seems to be a mere shoal left by the Jordan, and is commanded, to the westward, by the flanks of the first declivities of the mountain, and to the eastward, by an enormous mound rising very high, and forming a kind of immense pier or jetty, built for the purpose of restraining the waters of the lake at the spot where the Jordan rushes from it. So regularly is this mound constructed, that I find it very difficult not to look upon it as an artificial hill, heaped up by human labour.

The Jordan, at the point where it issues from the

Lake of Genesareth, which is situated on one side, and a little before you come to the southern extremity, turns suddenly westward, at right angles with the great axis of the lake. It follows this direction only for a distance of two or three hundred yards, after which it turns again as suddenly southward. This branch of the Jordan, running in a westerly direction, supplies with water the marshy flat to which I have previously alluded.

The extremity of the great jetty is the landing-place for travellers brought from the eastern shore, by the single ferry-boat plying between both banks of the Jordan. On that eastern shore, about a thousand yards to the left of the spot for the arrival and departure of the passengers, is to be seen the village of Samakh, and, still further on to the left, some ruins, very apparent even at this distance, and bearing the name of Kharbet-Samrah. What is this Samrah? I am much inclined to think it is the city taken by Hyrcanus after he had obtained possession of Medaba, and called by Josephus, Samæa (Σαμαία)* and Samega (Σαμεγά)†. In this last passage, Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus, as soon as he heard of the death of Antiochus Eusèbes, marched against the cities of Syria, hoping to take them by surprise, and without defence. Medaba (a fortress on the eastern bank of the Jordan) resisted for six months; the fall of that city was followed by that of Samega or Samæa, and of the places in their vicinity; then came the turn of

* Bel. Jud. I. ii. 6.

† Bel. Jud. XIII. ix. 1. Samrah seems to be the corruption of Samáa, and Samakh the corruption of Samega; and evidently the village received its name of Samakh from its proximity to the ruins of Samrah.—*Translator.*

Sichem and of the Gerizim. To advance from Medaba to Sichem, Hyrcanus was obliged to cross the Jordan at the spot where still exist the ruins of the bridge known under the name of Djesr-Omme-el-Kenatir, about a quarter of a league (one mile English) below the spot where the Jordan runs out of the lake of Genesareth. Our Samrah is consequently well situated to represent the Samega of Josephus.

At the northern point of the great jetty, which answers the purpose of a dike where the Jordan commences, is a very high mound covered with rubbish and riddled with cisterns. A second mound, smaller and also strewed with ruins, is situated to the northward of the first, and both are united by a causeway equally encumbered. These ruins are evidently modern, and represent a poor Arab village, which has, like many others, disappeared within the last few years. It was called, and its remains are still called, El-Karak. Some antiquarians have endeavoured to recognise in this denomination some trace of the ancient name of Taricheæ. To this I have no objection. But then they have proposed to identify the site of El-Karak with that of Taricheæ, and there I am compelled to dissent from them. This identification is impossible, and I propose to prove it so, in a manner which, I trust, will be unanswerable. Let us begin by a few words concerning the history of Taricheæ.

This city was situated at a distance of thirty stadia from Tiberias (*εἰς Ταριχαίας, τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἀπεχούσας στάδια τριάκοντα*).* This is the description given by Josephus of

* Vit. Jos. 32.

the site of Taricheæ, the name of which he writes indifferently, Ταριχιαίαι and Ταριχέαι. This city, says he, is situated, like Tiberias, at the foot of a mountain, and is defended by a strong surrounding wall, but not so strong as that of Tiberias. (This wall had been erected by Josephus himself.) The city was entirely encircled by this wall, with the exception of the side where it rested on the waters of the lake.* It seems probable that the city had received its name from the salted provisions usually prepared there from the fish caught in the lake.

The first mention of Taricheæ made by the historian of the Jews is contained in Book xiv. of his "Judaic Antiquities" (vii. 3); it tells us that Cassius having sought refuge in Syria, obtained possession of this country, and expelled the Parthians. He then returned to Tyre, and marched from thence upon Judæa. In this expedition he took Taricheæ at the first assault, and made there thirty thousand captives. In the first year of his reign, Nero gave over to Agrippa a portion of Galilee, and amongst other cities Tiberias and Taricheæ, besides Julias of the Perea with fourteen dependent boroughs.† I have already said that it was Josephus who, on the occasion of the irruption of the Romans into Galilee, placed Taricheæ in a state of defence, as likewise many other fortresses.‡

Taricheæ contained a hippodrome. This circumstance we learn from the very curious narrative of the rebellion excited against Josephus himself, by some young men of the village of Dabaritta (ἀπὸ Δαβαρίττων κώμης ἐν τῷ

* Bel. Jud. III. x. 1. † Ant. Jud. XX. viii. 4. ‡ Bel. Jud. II. xx. 6.

μεγαλῳ πεδίῳ), who had robbed Ptolemy, procurator of Agrippa and Bernice, and had brought their plunder into Taricheæ, where Josephus seized it from them. The malcontents, says the historian, had collected *in the hippodrome*, close to Taricheæ, to the number of *one hundred thousand* (ἐως δέκα μυριάδας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ταριχέας ἱπποδρόμῳ).* This is evidently a gross exaggeration.

The Taricheans would have passed over to the party of Agrippa, but were prevented by Josephus.† On the same day when they came to attack the camp of Vespasian, near the Thermæ of Emmaüs, they were, as we have already seen, driven back by the Roman soldiers, even to their boats. At that moment, Titus, by order of his father, attacked a considerable body which had gathered in the plain close to the city. Titus, although finding himself very inferior in numbers (for he had at first with him only six hundred chosen horsemen), was about to charge, when Trajan, bringing with him a reinforcement of four hundred more cavalry, increased his troops. In addition to this, Antonius Silo, at the head of two thousand archers, had been sent by Vespasian to occupy the heights commanding the city, and to drive back under a shower of missiles the defenders on the walls. The Romans, then extending a line of battle equal to that of the enemy, rushed forward with loud cries. The Jews tried to resist the first shock, although they were appalled by the steady order with which this charge of cavalry was made against them. But their line was soon broken, and all

* Bel. Jud. II. xxi. 3. † Vit. Jos. 32, and following.

those who were not disabled by arrows, or crushed under the horses' feet, fled in confusion towards the city. Titus, charging in pursuit of the flying enemy, slaughtered them by thousands. He tried to cut off their retreat and to drive them back into the plain, where they would have fallen under his victorious cavalry, but they succeeded by the weight of their mass in forcing their way back, and took refuge behind the ramparts of the place.

Nearly the whole were Jews, strangers to the town, and on their returning, the inhabitants, to whom this war, which endangered their lives and fortunes, was anything but agreeable, and who besides had just witnessed the slaughter of many of their people, opposed resistance to those who flew before the Romans; but the war party was the most numerous; a tumultuous dissension arose between the two sections, and a great outcry was heard rising above the walls. Titus, at this moment, with the quickness of intuition, and the energy which constitutes a hero, conceived that the moment was favourable to obtain possession of the place; and, showing an example of the greatest daring, pushed his horse into the lake, and in this manner turned the rampart, followed by his cavalry, who dared not desert such a noble leader. He thus forced his way into Tarichæ by that portion of the beach which had been left unprovided with a defensive wall along the quay.

The surprise and terror of the Jews on beholding this bold manœuvre may be readily conceived. Many of them fled across the fields, and many more perished

whilst trying to take refuge in their boats, or to swim after such of the overloaded barks as had already contrived to escape from the shore. Titus spared the unresisting inhabitants, and when all who had taken a share in the action had been put to death, he ordered the slaughter to cease. Those who had sought refuge upon the lake, seeing the city in the possession of the enemy, rowed off to the greatest possible distance from the Romans.

Vespasian, informed of the success of this incredible feat of arms, ordered a line of troops to surround the town, and to put to death every individual who attempted to escape. The next day he entered Taricheæ, and immediately began to construct rafts, for the purpose of pursuing and destroying those who had sheltered themselves on the lake. As soon as these rafts were ready, they were sent off in pursuit of the Jews, who opposed a vain resistance. The Romans made a tremendous slaughter, on the lake in the first instance, and afterwards on the shore to which the Jews had been driven ; the air for a long time was infected by the stench of the putrified carcases. Including those who perished during the storming of the city, the number of the dead amounted to six thousand five hundred.

As soon as the naval combat was over, Vespasian assembled a council of war in Taricheæ, to discuss the fate of the vanquished. The inhabitants of the city having first been set aside and pardoned, Vespasian made a show of sparing the lives of the Jews who were strangers to the country, but he only allowed them liberty to retire in the direction of Tiberias. The

Roman soldiers guarded the entire line of road, so that not one of them could make his escape. All were compelled to enter Tiberias, where they were immediately inclosed. Vespasian soon followed, ordered them all to be brought out to the Stadium (race-course), and immediately put to death the aged and infirm to the number of twelve hundred; the younger and more vigorous, amounting to six thousand, were sent to Nero at the Isthmus, and out of the remaining multitude, thirty thousand and four hundred were sold. A certain number were reserved for Agrippa, to deal with them according to his pleasure, and these also were sold as slaves. In all these calculations, the numbers appear to be greatly exaggerated.*

From the curious narrative, of which I have given a brief summary, the inferences are clearly these: 1st. That the walls of Taricheæ and the city itself were commanded by a mountain. 2nd. That the beach unprovided with walls was of such a nature as to allow Titus and his cavalry to enter by leading their horses through the lake. These two facts are perfectly exact, with regard to the ruins which are called Kedes, and are evidently those of Taricheæ; they become equally inadmissible, if you choose to identify Taricheæ with the village (most probably modern) of El-Karak. Consequently, as I have said, this last village has only assumed the appellation of the ancient city by corrupting the name, without taking the site.

During our excursion from Tabarieh to the Jordan, we frequently crossed on the road parties proceeding to

* Bel. Jud. III. x. 1—10.

Tabarieh, and coming from the Rhôr, either from the right bank, or from the left bank by means of the ferry-boat. One of these, a Bedouin of the Rhaouarna type, caused us a feeling of horror; the poor fellow had received a sabre-cut on the face which had deprived him of his nose and part of his lips. His wound was by no means healed, and he was proceeding quietly, at his horse's own pace, with his lance over his shoulder, to seek assistance in Tabarieh, where he probably hoped to find some hakim able to cure him. I very much doubt his success, and rather suspect from the tremendous heat, he must have fallen a victim to mortification.

From the top of the jetty to which I have already alluded several times, and which commands the lake from a height of fifteen or twenty yards at the least, we could perceive in the water some very magnificent fish. Edward fired at one with ball-cartridge, whereupon the poor creature turned upwards and seemed to be struggling in agony. It even appeared that a slight red tinge had coloured the water in which it was swimming. The shot was a good one and we were anxious to procure the game; Edward holding on by the bushes that cover the nearly perpendicular flank of the jetty, contrived to reach the level of the lake, evidently deep in this part. The fish had floated off to the distance of a few feet, which obliged him to use a stick to reach it; but the contact of the stick seemed suddenly to restore life to the dying victim, for scarcely was it touched, when it turned round again, dived and disappeared, leaving us equally mortified and disappointed, for we had fully reckoned on having it for our dinner.

As soon as we had reached our point of destination on the bank of the Jordan, we scattered in different directions, some to look for insects, others in quest of plants and fresh-water shells, and all met with wonderful success. Belly and Loysel killed some gulls which flock in vast numbers to the point where the Jordan runs out of the lake ; but, without having sufficiently ascertained the fact, we took it for granted that these birds were identical with our common sea-gulls on the shores of the ocean, and omitted to preserve them. The appearance of another water-fowl has considerably struck me during this excursion. It is a kind of large king-fisher, with black and white spots, and a fine tuft upon the head.

After having spent a few hours exploring the neighbourhoood of the spot we had selected for breakfast, we thought of returning to Tabarieh, whither Rothschild, accompanied by Selim, had already preceded us. On our arrival, we renewed our observations on the singular ruins of Taricheæ.*

As we were passing in the vicinity of the baths of El-Hammam, I requested Edward to examine, on the mountain side beyond, that is to say to the southward of the baths, a small ruined edifice, in the middle of which we could observe still standing the broken shaft of a column. According to the Jews of Tabarieh, this edifice is the tomb of a prophet. But the tradition is without a sound reason. The structure in question is of a very inferior kind, and by no means ancient. Besides,

* Stephens, in his Ethnicals, says, at the word Ταριχέαι, that the name of this town is used indifferently in the singular and in the plural.

the pretended column is composed of two tambours of other columns, lying above each other it is true, but of different diameters. This tomb then, if a tomb it is, is not worth the trouble of a examination.

I ascertained, on our way back, that the sepulchral excavations which I had descried from a distance, yesterday morning, are two in number. The approach to them seems rather difficult, and a visit would occupy too much time. I conclude that they resemble the sepulchral caves of the necropolises we have already so often encountered.

All the ruins of the ancient Tiberias are to the southward of the Tabarieh of the middle ages. To the north of this place there is no trace of them. As I have already stated, shafts of columns show themselves in vast numbers, especially at the point called by the Jews, the Talmudic school. There can be no doubt, that if diggings were undertaken along the extent of ground comprised between the present town and El-Hammam, the result would be most productive; but who will undertake them?

We reached the gate of Tabarieh by exactly five o'clock. It was ten minutes past four when we passed, on our way back from the Jordan, the ruins of the first town situated to the south of Taricheæ; from thence to the ruins of El-Karak, at the northern head of the jetty, occupies half an hour's march. Consequently from Tabarieh to the point where the Jordan runs out of the lake, the distance may be computed at an hour and twenty minutes' march, going at a good pace;—say between nine and ten thousand yards,

or nearly five miles and a half, English measurement. From this calculation we may also establish the following distances: between seven and eight thousand yards from the gate of Tabarieh to the southern point of the ruined town situated beyond Taricheæ; six thousand yards from Tabarieh to the southern point of Taricheæ, the traces of this last town spreading over an extent of about two thousand yards; and lastly, three thousand yards, at the utmost, divide El-Hammam from the city.

As soon as we reached our hotel we called for dinner as speedily as possible, and almost immediately after I went to bed. I was worn out with fatigue, and my headache had been constantly increasing throughout the day.

On our arrival we found with great pleasure our brave Mohammed, who has left his family to join us again, as we purpose taking him with us to Paris. His nephew, Ismayl, would much like to be of the party, and never more to leave us; but we cannot afford this superfluous expense; consequently I pay him his salary for the two days he has been in our service, and dismiss him to his great regrét.

Now that we have seen all that was worthy of notice in Tabarieh and to the south of this town, we prepare to leave it to-morrow morning. Let us now enquire into the history of Tiberias.

Josephus tells us that a city was founded, by Herod Antipas the Tetrarch, in the finest part of Galilee, on the border of the lake of Genesareth, and that it received the name of Tiberias in honour of the

Emperor Tiberius, with whom the tetrarch was bound in close ties of friendship. This Herod found it very difficult to procure a population for his newly-founded city; and it was only by promising immunities to such people as came to dwell there, by constructing houses for them, and giving them grants of land, that he succeeded in establishing a mixture of strangers, of people whose free condition was not sufficiently recognised, and of Galileans transported by force. The real cause of this repugnance was that several sepulchres had been destroyed, in digging the foundations of the new city, and that, consequently, according to the Judaic laws, the inhabitants of a place like this were condemned to seven days' impurity.*

We have already said, when speaking of Tarichæ, that Tiberias was given by Nero to Agrippa the Younger.† This town is one of those which Flavius Josephus put in a state of defence, when Galilee was threatened by the Roman invasion.‡ John, son of Levi, a native of Gischala, having excited the people against Josephus, through jealousy, the latter attempted to harangue the mutineers collected on the stadium (race-course).§ From this it appears there was a stadium in Tiberias, and this stadium was on the border of the lake; for Josephus, during his oration, finding himself on the point of being assassinated by the emissaries of John, jumped down from a mound six feet high, upon which he had placed himself for the purpose of being heard, and found himself on the shore.

* Ant. Jud. XVIII. ii. 3.
† Ant. Jud. XX. viii. 4.
‡ Bel. Jud. II. xx. 6.
§ Bel. Jud. II. xxi. 6.

By good fortune a boat was within reach; he leaped into it, accompanied by two soldiers, who, rowing with all their might, saved him by taking him out to a considerable distance on the lake.*

There was in Tiberias a palace constructed by Herod the Tetrarch; this palace, notwithstanding the rigour of the Judaic law, was decked with representations of living creatures (ζώων μορφὰς ἔχοντα). Josephus, having received orders to put Galilee in a state of defence, came from Sepphoris to Tiberias, and, stopping at a place called Bethmaus (εἰς κώμην τινὰ, Βηθμαοὺς λεγομένην, ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδιους τέσσαρα), distant only four stadia from the town,† summoned the senate and principal inhabitants of Tiberias to his presence, and told them that he was sent by the senate of Jerusalem to insist upon their destroying the palace of Herod to its foundations, as the presence of such a building was a scandal against their institutions. The citizens resisted for some time, but finally allowed themselves to be persuaded, and the destruction of the palace in question was decided on. A certain Jesus, son of Sapphias, leader of the mariners and the low rabble, was quicker than Josephus and his adherents; for at his instigation the palace was destroyed by fire and plundered on the instant, to the great displeasure of Josephus.‡

When Josephus became chief of the city he found it very difficult to maintain order. Its population was

* Bel. Jud. II. xxi. 6.

† This village must have been most probably at the foot of the declivity leading down to Tabarieh. There indeed some ruins appear of no very great importance, and the name of which I was not able to ascertain.

‡ Vit. Jos. 12.

turbulent and restless, ever fond of change, and on several occasions he had to repress insurrectionary movements. Once even he was compelled to enter by force, after an obstinate fight, in which victory had nearly declared on the side of the inhabitants.* On another occasion Josephus had to restrain the Galileans, who were preparing a descent upon Tiberias for the purpose of pillage, to punish the inhabitants for having thought of treating with King Agrippa, and with the enemies of Judaic nationality.†

When Vespasian entered Tiberias without striking a blow, before the storm of Taricheæ, he encamped with three legions at a place call Sennabris, which, although at the distance of thirty stadia from Tiberias, was perfectly visible from that town. The most probable inference is therefore, that this place was on the heights, since Vespasian, coming from Scythopolis (Beth-shan), had not passed by Taricheæ, which was the intermediate point in the Rhôr between Beth-shan and Tabarieh. Vespasian had sent a certain Valerian to parley with the citizens, attended by an escort of fifty cavalry. When these had alighted from their horses, to prove they had come in good faith, Jesus, son of Sapphias (here called the son of Saphat), fell upon the Romans at the head of the banditti who had elected him their chief, seized the horses and made prisoners of forty-five soldiers, who made no effort to defend themselves. The senate of Tiberias, greatly distressed at this treacherous conduct, sent to implore mercy and pardon from Vespasian. This prince, on the following

* Vit. Jos. 63. † Vit. Jos. 68.

morning, despatched Trajan with a party of horse to the top of the mountain,* for the purpose of ascertaining the dispositions of the population; and when Trajan had satisfied himself that they were friendly, the whole army struck their tents, and, passing through Tiberias, encamped again, as we have already related, between that city and Tarichеæ, where Jesus and his partisans had taken refuge in great haste.

Epiphanius† tells us that Joseph (a Jew converted to Christianity) received from the Emperor Constantine permission to construct churches at Tiberias, at Dio Cæsarea, and Capernaum. Until that period no residence in Tiberias had been permitted either to the Christians, the Samaritans, or any strangers. The first known bishop of Tiberias is John, who subscribed to the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. In A.D. 536, another bishop of Tiberias of the same name assisted at the Council of Jerusalem; and lastly, at the Council of Constantinople, held A.D. 553, a bishop of Tiberias was present called George. Epiphanius‡ relates that the afore-mentioned Joseph, with the permission of Constantine, took possession for the building of his church, of a large unfinished temple, called the Adrianæum, and which the inhabitants of Tiberias desired to transform into public baths.

After the taking of Jerusalem, Tiberias became the refuge of the learned doctors of Judaism. They founded there a celebrated Talmudic school, which flourished

* This fact proves unanswerably, that the place called Sennabris, where Vespasian had encamped, was on the height.

† Adv. Hæres. l. 1, p. 128. ‡ Adv. Hæres. l. 1, pp. 136, 137.

down to the fourth century of our era, when the conversion of Constantine led to the erection of a Christian church. Justinian, as we are informed by Procopius,* ordered the walls of Tiberias to be rebuilt. Abulfeda, in his geography, says of Tabarieh, that this city, already ruined in his time, was conquered from the Christians by Saladin.

A small church dedicated to St. Peter exists at the present day in Tabarieh, and it has most likely taken its name from the church which Helena, mother of Constantine, caused to be erected in honour of the same saint. This fact is certified in the ecclesiastical history of Nicephorus Callistus.

Some have thought, agreeing in that respect with St. Jerome, that Tiberias occupied the place of the city, which, in the Holy Scripture, is called Chinnereth. But Reland has completely refuted that opinion by the following argument, which seems to me decisive. Chinnereth, which anciently gave its name to the lake of Genesareth, was a city of the tribe of Naphtali.† The southern frontier of Naphtali began at Capernaum, since the Gospel of St. Matthew (iv. 13) tells us that Capernaum was situated on the limit of the territories of Naphtali and of Zebulun, that of Naphtali being to the northward, and that of Zebulun to the southward; but then, as Tiberias was to the southward of Capernaum, and as southward of Capernaum the whole country belonged to Zebulun, it follows that Tiberias was situated in the territory of Zebulun, and consequently cannot be identified with

* De Ædif. Just. v. 9. † Joshua, xix. 35.

Chinnereth, which was most positively a city of the tribe of Naphtali.*

We arrive exactly at the same conclusion with regard to the opinion of the rabbis, who pretend to find in Tiberias the site of the Naphtalian cities of Raccath and Hammath. With regard to this last, I have sought to identify it with the Kalâat-el-Hammam, and I think I am right in my conjecture. It is probable, as Reland observes, that this identification between Chinnereth and Tiberias has been proposed, because the lake was called indifferently at the same time the Lake of Chinnereth and the Lake of Tiberias, from which it was inferred that Chinnereth and Tiberias were the same city.† According to this argument, Tiberias ought also to be identified with Genesareth, with Gennesar, and even with the whole of Galilee ; since the lake is indifferently called the Lake of Genesareth (in the Gospels), the Lake of Gennesar (in Josephus), and the Sea of Galilee (by St. Mark). We shall see a little further on if it is not possible to establish the origin of this name, *Lake of Chinnereth.*

March 3rd.

This morning very early we prepared to resume our journey. The first thing to be settled was our bill with

* St. Jerome alludes twice to the identity of Tiberias with the Chinnereth of the Bible : first, in the commentaries on Ezekiel (xlviii. 21), where he says—"Tiberias quæ olim appellabatur Chenereth." The second time St. Jerome is not so positive, and merely mentions it as a report in the following terms (Onomast. ad voc. Chennereth): "Tiberiadem ferunt hoc primum appellatam nomine." Besides, since many tombs were placed on the site afterwards occupied by Tiberias, it is an evident proof that no Judaic city had existed there ; this being a necessary consequence of the rigour of the Judaic laws with regard to all cases of impurity.

† Palæst. p. 1037.

the dear M. Weisemann—*very dear* indeed is the appropriate word ;—our bill of expenses is handed to us, and amounts to more than twelve hundred piastres ! I doubt if the keeper of a wretched tavern ever fleeced his victims with more unblushing impudence. Upwards of three hundred francs for a single bed and a single room for three nights, with five wretched meals for five persons ! It must be confessed the charge was exorbitant.

Honest Master Weisemann keeps a register, in which travellers are requested to inscribe their names, with such observations as they may feel inclined to add concerning the establishment. We found notes in pencil from our friends Maximian Du Camp and Gustavus Flaubert, written as a postscript after their own bill had been handed to them. We also found several others to the same purpose, and have made up our minds to pay without remonstrance ; but to state plainly in the register our opinion as to the integrity of the establishment. It will complete the collection of autographs already possessed by our respectable landlord. I have learnt that since our residence the curious album has been withdrawn from circulation, and is no longer submitted to the examination of new comers.

Whilst our luggage was loading, I descried in the wall of the yard of the Hôtel Weisemann two rather interesting fragments of sculpture, of which I hastened to take a sketch. One of these, which the owner asserts to have been taken from the ruins of Omm-Keys (the ancient Gadara), situated on the opposite shore of the lake, represents the candlestick with the seven branches,

surrounded by a wreath, and accompanied by two sacrificing knives. The other is a fragment of an ancient gate, bearing the same framework in crossettes, which we observed in the tombs of the Valley of Hinnom. This last piece is probably a remnant of the ruins of Tiberias.

At last everything is ready ; we mount our horses, and ride away, light of heart and light of purse from the hotel of our estimable entertainer. After this, there is no faith in fat, plump-looking gentlemen ! We have to leave Tabarieh by the same gate through which we entered it. Passing then to our left some ruined houses, and to our right the enclosure of a shattered mosque, we issue for the last time from the precincts of the city, and turning immediately to the northward, proceed in the direction of Safed. The path we are following is full of flowers. After having crossed a small plain, in which there is a rivulet connected with a spring called Ayn-el-Barideh, the road rises pretty rapidly along the flank of a hill, while it continues extending in a line parallel with the shore. It seems as if the lake has enticingly assumed its fairest garment to receive our last farewell. It appears more lovely here than from the opposite side of Tabarieh. Some rocks rising a little above the water appear towards the centre, covered with thousands of aquatic birds, amongst which large grey pelicans form the majority. Innumerable ducks are sporting in every direction ; the lake is perfectly smooth and motionless, and its glittering waters reflect the full brilliancy of the sun and sky.

Whilst I am gazing with intense admiration on this magnificent spectacle, the Abbé, without ceasing to sympathise with my feelings, stops at every step to fill his botanical bag with charming flowers. Time wears away rapidly, too rapidly according to our ideas, and when we have been an hour and a half in progress, our road suddenly declines. We have then before us a small green flowery plain, and arrive in front of a miserable hamlet, in the midst of which appear some ancient ruins, looking like remains of fortifications. This hamlet is called El-Medjdel, the fortress! What Medjdel can this be? It is the Magdala of the Gospel, the birth-place of Mary Magdalen. We read in the Gospel of St. Mark (vii.), that Jesus Christ proceeded from the coasts of Tyre and of Sidon to the coasts of Decapolis; and as nothing is said of his having crossed either the Jordan or the Lake of Genesareth, it seems clear that it was to the portion of the Decapolis on this side Jordan that he proceeded, in which part Scythopolis was situated,—the ancient Beth-shan. It was there that the miracle of the multiplication of the *seven* loaves was performed (according to St. Mark and St. Matthew), and not of the *five* loaves, according to the Mussulmen, who recognise and point out to travellers the platforms of basaltic rock, situated on the top of the mountain commanding Tabarieh, upon which the distribution of the loaves took place. Immediately after that, the Saviour and his disciples embarked, and went to touch at Magdala (according to St. Matthew), at Dalmanutha (according to St. Mark), but only stopped there a moment; and then they crossed over to the opposite shore (εἰς τὸ

πέραν,* according to both St. Mark and St. Matthew), to proceed thence to Cæsarea Philippi (the present Banias).

Since our Lord Jesus Christ, when he embarked on the Sea of Galilee, after the miracle of the loaves, was proceeding to Cæsarea Philippi, it is quite evident that he was not leaving the trans-Jordanic Decapolis, for otherwise, he would have been twice crossing the lake uselessly; the first time to come to Magdala, and the second time to retrace his steps in the direction of Cæsarea. I therefore cannot conceive how the Rev. Dr. Robinson can have said,† "After the miraculous feeding of the four thousand, which appears to have taken place in the country east of the lake;" for the necessary inference from the text of the gospels arrives at a contrary conclusion.

What may have been the Dalmanutha, which one of the two above quoted evangelists substitutes, in his narrative, for Magdala which is named by the other? We cannot decide. Perhaps both names were indifferently applied to the same locality. This surmise is the more likely to be the correct, as El-Medjdel, the real form of the name of which Magdala is but a Greek corruption, means simply "the fortress."

The Talmud of Jerusalem, compiled at Tiberias, mentions Magdala as a place situated in the vicinity of both Tiberias and Hammath. Robinson considers Hammath as being identical with the thermæ of Emmaüs,

* This word "Peran" is the origin of the name of the Perea, or Perain (περαια), of which the proper signification is *the country beyond.*

† Vol. iii. p. 278.

but this supposition I conceive to be a mistake. The place there mentioned is precisely the biblical Hammath, the site of which is now occupied by Qalâat-el-Hammam ; and effectively El-Medjdel happens to be situated at the mouth of the Ouad-el-Hammam, which places Magdala precisely between Tiberias and the Qalâat-el-Hammam, according to the indication of the Talmud.

The Book of Joshua (xix. 38) enumerates a Migdal-el amongst the fortified cities of the tribe of Naphtali, and some have thought that this is actually our Medjdel. But I cannot believe it, because that city is mentioned as being very far from Chinnereth, whilst El-Medjdel must necessarily be close to it.

As soon as we have got beyond El-Medjdel, we descry the mouth of the Ouad-el-Hammam, and upon one of the summits, the ruin which Ismayl had named Qalâat-el-Hammam. To-day, Mohammed designates it under the name of Qalâat-el-Mâan. This sounds very like the name Qalâat-ebn-Mâan. Does this ruin really bear both the names which have been given to me? I am much inclined to think it does. M. J. de Berton * also mentions the Qalâat-ebn-Mâan, which, in his opinion, might possibly be identified with the Taricheæ of Josephus ; but I think it unnecessary to discuss this question.

Beyond El-Medjdel a small well-watered and very fertile plain immediately commences, the aspect of which is delightful to behold. This plain, called at the present day El-Rhoueyr, the small Rhôr, or the

* Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. : tom. xii. Nos. 69, 70, p. 146.

small morass, is the plain described by Josephus under the name of Gennesar;* and of which he presents a very pleasing picture, and one of the most scrupulous accuracy, if we are to judge by the actual state of the ground; which cultivation has not abandoned, it is true, but where the inhabitants are too thinly scattered, to draw from it all the produce it was likely to have yielded in former days. In his description, Josephus has inserted the subjoined phrase, which is highly valuable :—"Add to the softness of the climate, the blessing of a very abundant spring, called by the inhabitants of the country Capernaum. Some have believed that this spring was connected with the Nile, because it produces a species of fish closely resembling the Korakinos, abounding in the morasses near Alexandria. This plain extends along the shore of the lake bearing the same name, over a space of thirty stadia in length and only twenty in breadth." †

The inferences to be drawn from this passage are, first, that the plain which Josephus calls Γεννησὰρ, and which is evidently our El-Rhoueyr (as there is no other plain on the shore of the lake to compete for this honour), has given its name to the lake itself; and second, that the Capernaum of the gospels was necessarily in this plain, since in the days of Josephus, or we may say within a period of only half a century later, the

* Bel. Jud. III. x. 8.

† Πρὸς γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίᾳ καὶ πηγῇ διάρδεται . . . . γονίμωτάτῃ, Καφαρναούμ αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσι· Ταύτην φλέβα τοῦ Νείλου τινὲς ἔδοξαν ἐπεὶ γεννᾷ τῷ κατά τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων λίμνην κορακίνῳ παραπλήσιον· Μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παρατείνει κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς ὁμωνύμου λίμνης ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα καὶ εὖρος εἴκοσι.—Bel. Jud., III., x. 8.

inhabitants of the country called the spring that fertilised the plain of Gennesar, by the name of Capernaum.

Now, was it the spring itself which bore the name of Capharnaum? Certainly not. It would be absurd to suppose that a spring should have received a proper name beginning by the word "*kafr*," which means village. It would be equally as extravagant to think that Josephus, who apparently was well acquainted with his native language, should have committed such a ridiculous mistake without being aware of his error. The conclusion is that his phrase has been mutilated, and what he intended to say, is that this fine spring was called the spring of Capernaum. Capernaum was therefore in the neighbourhood of the spring that had taken its name; but then the spring being once found, Capernaum must soon be discovered likewise. We shall find that this perfectly logical conclusion is verified on the spot, provided we choose to bestow a little attention on the inspection of the ground.

After advancing ten minutes beyond El-Medjdel, we cross the Nahr (rivulet) running out of the Ouad-el-Hammam, and find a little farther on, to the right of the road, and in the middle of a dense thicket of bushes, creepers, and tall grass, a magnificent circular reservoir of very elegant construction. The edge of this reservoir forms a solid mass of masonry, lined with fine cut stone, and its thickness varies from five to six yards. The reservoir is between twenty and twenty-five yards in diameter, and two yards in height from the bottom. The water contained in it, scarcely two feet deep, is very clear and limpid. Swimming about are

shoals of small fishes full of life and activity, and as far as I was able to judge, somewhat resembling, in shape and size, fine gudgeons, or sparlings.* To the left of this magnificent reservoir, the plain is bordered by small hills strewed with an innumerable quantity of blocks of lava. Evidently these blocks of lava have not come here by themselves, and are, like those of Taricheæ, vestiges of an ancient town. The only difference is that they are larger than those of Taricheæ, and I am inclined to believe that this increased dimension denotes a higher antiquity.

It seems to me impossible to question the identity of the spring enclosed within the stone reservoir, which I have just described, and now called the Ayn-el-Medaouarah, (the circular fountain), with the spring mentioned by Josephus, and which he denominates the fountain of Capernaum. This last watered and fertilised the plain of Gennesar; the Ayn-el-Medaouarah still waters and fertilises this same plain of Gennesar, now called El-Rhoueyr; for the water running from the reservoir forms a large rivulet, which might easily be drained into canals of irrigation. The fountain of Josephus produced shoals of small fishes; the circular fountain still contains the progeny of the same fishes mentioned by Josephus; consequently we are on the territory of Capernaum, when we arrive at the Ayn-el-Medaouarah. The ruins still recognisable, the basaltic rocks of which are scattered over the

* This reservoir is exactly similar to those of Ras-el-Ayn near Sour, and, as was the case with them, intended to protect the spring which was to spread fertility through the country, and in some manner to preserve its waters.

adjoining hills, are then also unquestionably the ruins of the Capernaum of the gospels.

Beginning from this remarkable reservoir, the vestiges continue to appear without interruption as far as the ruined village of Abou-Chouched. This village is on a hill connected with the range that borders to the westward the plain of Gennesar, or El-Rhoueyr, and stretching out to the eastward so as to contract this small plain within narrow limits. Many blocks of lava are strewed over the site of Abou-Chouched, and a glacis, formed of huge masses of the same material, and in as perfect a state of preservation as the stone glacis built at the foot of the Castle of Karak, lines the base of the hill upon which the village formerly stood. Of the village itself, all that remains, are a few portions of walls of modern appearance; but in the midst of these is still standing a square vaulted tower, constructed in fine blocks of Herodian workmanship, or Roman of the early empire. This tower rests against a wall of more recent character.

Beyond the village, to the north-east, the accumulations of blocks of lava, belonging undoubtedly to ancient structures, continue to show themselves, as far as the edge of a small river of pure running water, named to me as the Nahr-el-Aamoud, and which proceeds from the Ouad-el-Aamoud (the valley of the column). On the bank of this wide rivulet, with fine, limpid, flowing waters, is a deserted mill. The Rev. Dr. Robinson and M. De Berton received from their guides the information that this rivulet descends from the Ouad-er-Rebadyeh. Which of the two names is

correct, I am unable to decide. But probably they may both be received, for the village of Rabadeh is exactly situated in the Ouad-el-Aamoud. In the plain below the same hills, adjoining Abou-Chouched, Robinson discovered, when proceeding in a north-easterly direction, towards the Khan-Minieh, the shaft of a column of calcareous stone, twenty feet long by two feet in diameter. He surmises, correctly, that the Ouad-el-Aamoud has received its name from the presence of this column, which certainly has not been placed there by its own action, and which the Arabs are not likely to have brought from a distance. The inference is, that the column belongs to the extensive ruins in lava blocks which begin in front of the Ayn-el-Medaouarah, and end only at the extremity of the Ouad-el-Aamoud.

To what locality do these ruins belong? Those in the immediate vicinity of the Ayn-el-Medaouarah belong most certainly to Capernaum. But did Capernaum extend to Abou-Chouched? I cannot suppose it did, considering the probable size of such a town. In all probability, there must have been, above the plain of Gennesar, two cities which had succeeded each other. The most ancient, situated northward towards the entrance of this fertile plain, occupied the hill of Abou-Chouched (the father-scorpion), which was the key of the position; and this was a fortified city, having a glacis constructed from blocks of lava to defend its approaches. I shall endeavour to prove, presently, that this ancient city was Chinnereth. The second town, contemporaneous with Taricheæ, and constructed with the same materials, was situated towards the southern extremity

of El-Rhoueyr, and in the immediate vicinity of the Ayn-el-Medaouarah, which Josephus calls Capharnaum.

Let us observe casually that, if I am not mistaken, on the western shore of the Lake of Genesareth an important city was situated at each extremity; Tarichea to the southward, and Chinnereth to the northward. This arrangement of important cities was the same on the western shore of the Asphaltic Lake, since Sodom was at the southern point, and Gomorrah at the northern extremity of that sea. We shall see shortly that the same system is to be remarked again in the cities on the shore of the Bahr-el-Houleh.

Let us now return to Capernaum. The name means the village of Nahoum. This town was on the limit of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, and on the border of the Sea of Galilee.* When our Lord Jesus left Nazareth, he came and resided there;† so that Capernaum is called in the Gospel, ἰδία πόλις, the especial residence of Jesus Christ. It was a flourishing city,‡ and was situated on the way down from Cana,§ as also on the way from Nazareth.‖

We read in the Gospel of St. Matthew (chap. xi. 23), this terrible imprecation of our Lord against Capernaum! "And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto Heaven, shalt be brought down to hell."—Καὶ σὺ Καπερναοὺμ ἡ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθεῖσα, ἕως ᾅδου καταβιβασθήσῃ. The prophecy has been duly and fully accomplished, since even those who have gone in quest of her ruins have not been able to recognise them, as was the case

* St. Matthew, iv. 13.
† St. Mark, xi. 1, and St. Matthew, iv. 13.
‡ St. Matthew, xi. 23.
§ St. John, ii. 12, and iv. 46.
‖ St. Luke, iv. 31.

with the Rev. Dr. Robinson, who, if he had seen the traces of Taricheæ, would certainly have recognised them at once.

This is the mention made by that zealous investigator of biblical antiquities, of the place which, in my opinion, unquestionably represents Capernaum.* "I ascended it therefore [he is speaking of the hill covered with blocks of lava, commanding the western flank of the Ayn-el-Medaouarah] excited with the eager hope of finding some trace of a former site, which then I should hardly have hesitated to consider as the remains of Capernaum, but my hope ended in disappointment; a few stones had indeed been thrown together, but there was nothing which could indicate that any town or village had ever occupied the spot." I am rejoiced to find in this passage the acknowledgment of a fact which I had not taken the trouble to verify myself, as the matter appeared to me, *à priori*, quite superfluous. If some of these stones have been placed or thrown together, I am satisfied; the others have been dispersed, and that is the sum of all. In short, Capernaum, which Josephus places there, was there unquestionably, and some scattered blocks are all that now remain to mark the former existence of this city.

We have seen, when speaking of Tiberias, that the Emperor Constantine granted to a converted Jew, called Joseph, the privilege of building a Christian church in that city, as also in Dio-Cæsarea and in Capernaum. The fact is related by Epiphanius,† who adds that, up to the period when he wrote, the Jews alone had been

* Vol. iii. p. 284. † Adv. Hæres. lib. i. pp. 128—136.

allowed to reside in that town. Reland observes besides, that Epiphanius* seems to indicate that Capernaum was not on the sea-shore (of the Lake or Sea of Galilee). Epiphanius was perfectly correct in his conclusion, and he was also right in saying that this town was not bathed by the waves of the Lake of Genesareth.

Josephus supplies another important point of information concerning this town, which on this occasion he designates under a slightly altered name.† Some royal troops, under the command of Sylla, were closely besieging Julias. Josephus sent to the relief of that fortress two thousand men, under the command of Jeremiah. This officer placed his camp at the distance of a stadium from Julias, on the side of the Jordan, and did not venture to engage in any serious action with the enemy. Josephus then came in person, to reinforce Jeremiah with three thousand additional troops. The next day, he placed an ambuscade in a concealed valley in the proximity of the enemy's camp; then, by skirmishing and making a feint of flying, he enticed the Romans to a sortie, in the course of which Sylla rushed headlong into the trap that had been laid for him. As Josephus was returning to the charge, at the head of his people, he was thrown, with his horse, who had got his feet entangled, into a muddy spot. In this fall he received a severe sprain of the hand, and when they raised him from the ground, it was necessary to convey him to the borough called Kepharnomè (Κεφαρνώμη). The soldiers of Josephus, anxious for

* Adv. Hæres. lib. ii. p. 438.

† Vit. Jos. 72.

the consequences of the accident to their general, gave up the pursuit of the enemy, and came back to enquire with much anxiety after his condition. Surgeons were sent for, who tended the wounded limb, and Josephus was obliged to remain there during the remainder of the day, on account of fever; but during the night, he was conveyed to Taricheæ, with the consent of his medical attendants.

Eusebius and St. Jerome merely mention, that Capernaum existed in their time, on the border of the lake.

In the sixth century, Antoninus the Martyr, says, concerning this town:—"Deindè venimus in civitatem Capharnaüm, in domum Petri quæ modo est Basilica." The house of the apostle St. Peter had then been transformed into a church. In the seventh century, Adumnan is more explicit respecting Capernaum. He writes as follows:*—"Qui ab Hierosolymis descendentes Capharnaüm adiri cupiunt, ut Arculfus refert, per Tiberiadem viâ vadunt rectâ. Deindè secùs lacum Cinereth quod et mare Tiberiadis et mare Galilee, locumque superius memoratæ benedictionis pervium habent; a quo per marginem ejusdem supra commemorati stagni non longo circuitu Capernaum perveniunt maritimam, in finibus Zebulon et Neptalim, quæ ut Arculfus refert, qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum coartata spatio, per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plagâ, locum vero ab australi habens, ab occasu in ortum

* De Locis Sanctis, lib. ii.

extensa dirigitur." I confess that this description does not agree with the real site of Capernaum, such as I believe I have determined it, with complete certainty; but I console myself with the thought that it would be absolutely impossible to find on this side of the lake a site tallying with the one described in this passage. The point where the Jordan enters the Lake of Genesareth is the only one that can accord with the bearings given by Arculfus, and can only do so for a very short space. Consequently there has been an evident confusion in the determination of these bearings, which are to be corrected by inclining the whole of them to an angle of about forty-five degrees.

Let us now come to Chinnereth. Amongst the fenced cities of the tribe of Naphtali, we find Chinnereth mentioned immediately after Hammath and Rakkath.* Consequently these cities were at no great distance from each other; and if we have guessed correctly with regard to Qalâat-el-Hammam, or Qalâat-el-Mâan, in identifying it with Hammath, Chinnereth must have been in the neighbourhood of this place. We have seen, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew (iv. 13), that Capernaum was on the borders of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali. Chinnereth was then, unquestionably, to the north of Capernaum.

Chinnereth was just as positively on the border of the Lake of Tiberias; for we read in Joshua (xii. 2, 3), that "Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from Aroer, which is upon the bank of the river Arnon, and from the middle of the

* Joshua, xix. 35.

river, and from half Gilead, even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon; and from the plain to the sea of Chinneroth on the east, and unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth; and from the south, under Ashdoth-pisgah." The salt sea is the Lake Asphaltites; the Sea of Chinneroth is just as certainly the Lake of Tiberias, or Genesareth. Chinneroth and Chinnereth differ only in this particular, that the vowel ov is *expressed* in the 3rd verse, Chapter XII. of Joshua. The Lake of Tiberias used then to be called the Sea of Chinneroth, or Chinnereth, before it was called the Sea of Genesareth. This is so certain, that in Numbers (xxxiv. 11), the lake is positively called the Sea of Chinnereth. A lake takes its name from some locality on its borders; and thus it has happened that our lake has been called the Lake of Genesareth, on account of the plain of Gennesar, so deservedly admired by Josephus, which it waters to the north-west; and has been called again at a later period the Lake of Tiberias, on account of the city of Tiberias, at the foot of which it extends.

In the gospels, the name which Josephus writes Gennesar (this name is already given in the First Book of Maccabees, xi. 67,) and Gennesaritis, becomes Genesareth. Unquestionably the two most ancient names of this lake are,—the lake of Chinnereth, or Chinneroth, and the lake of Genesareth. Besides that these two names have a resemblance with regard to sound, a consonance rather extraordinary if it is merely accidental, it seems very unlikely that the one should

have been set aside to adopt the other, whilst it is perfectly natural, that after the foundation of the sumptuous city of Tiberias, the appellation of that city should have been extended to the waters of which it was the queen. Consequently I do not hesitate, in considering the name of Genesareth as having been dirived from the primitive name of Chinnereth.

There is but a step from this surmise to the conclusion that Chinnereth had likewise given its name to the rich plain, which afterwards became the plain of Gennesar, as the Lake of Chinnereth had become the Lake of Genesareth. An additional proof that my surmise is perfectly correct, may be found in verse 2 of Chap. XI. of Joshua, where the Hebraic text says, "*south* of *Chinneroth*." The Chaldean text has, "south of *Gennesar*." In the conception of the Chaldean translator Chinneroth and Gennesar were exactly the same. I may perhaps be permitted to rest satisfied with this proof of identity.

In conclusion, we find Chinnereth was to the north of Capernaum, since it belonged to the tribe of Naphtali, and that Capernaum was on the extreme frontier of Naphtali and Zebulun. Chinnereth was in the plain of Gennesar as well as Capernaum. This plain was only thirty stadia in length, according to Josephus, extending a little more than six thousand yards. The unquestionable inference from this is, that Capernaum and Chinnereth were distant about *two English miles* from each other. Now, if we apply this measurement to the ground, we find, as Capernaum is necessarily situated at the entrance of the plain of El-Rhoueyr,

in the immediate vicinity of the fountain to which Josephus gives the same name; that Chinnereth was consequently situated about the spot where now stands the village of Abou-Chouched; and, as precisely at Abou-Chouched are to be seen the remains of a fortified station of the highest antiquity, I have no hesitation in placing in this point the Chinnereth, or Chinneroth, of the Bible.

Let us now return to our Itinerary. After having passed the village of Abou-Chouched, we keep marching to the north-eastward, and, after having crossed the Nahr-el-Aamoud, or Nahr-Rabadyeh, to the left of its deserted mill, we alight beyond another rivulet, which has been named to me (but this is certainly a mistake), the Nahr-et-Tabrhah. I believe that this is the real Nahr-el-Aamoud, and that the name of Nahr-Rabadyeh ought to be exclusively applied to the fine stream which we crossed near Abou-Chouched. It was time to rest, and take our morning meal. A cluster of trees offered an agreeable shelter against the burning sun, and we deemed it wise to profit by the advantage. We halt at the foot of the mountain range, which we shall have to cross in a few moments, for the purpose of reaching Safed. We establish ourselves in the shade, as comfortably as we can, notwithstanding the briers and nettles, and in spite of the mosquitoes especially, who wage a furious war against us, and hasten to despatch our breakfast, so as to resume our march with as little delay as possible.

At the place where we now are, we seem to have nearly reached the extremity of the gulf formed by

the northern point of the Lake of Genesareth; as the shore which we descry to our right, seems to turn off in an east-north-easterly direction. A little further than the point where we have stopped, and to the right, is the Khan-Minieh.* At the foot of this khan, between it and the sea, I am shown, in the meadow, the Ayn-el-Tineh (the fountain of the lonely fig-tree). It is true that I do not perceive any fig-tree at the exact spot which is pointed out to me; but I distinctly see some rather inconsiderable ruins, as usual composed of blocks of black lava lying on the ground. Still further off, and in the same direction with the Khan-Minieh, we distinctly descry the buildings of some mills, which the water may still, or rather did formerly, set in motion, for I much doubt their being in better repair than those we have already seen to the north of Abou-Chouched. Matteo, who has often visited this country, in company with travellers, to whom he acted as dragoman, tells me that, according to his idea, the ruins of Capernaum are to be sought for beyond these mills, in the midst of which there are columns and fragments of sculpture. Lastly, before us, in the flank of the mountain limiting to the northward the plain where we have halted, a grotto appears at a distance of about three hundred yards to our right.

The Rev. Dr. Robinson, who carefully examined all this portion of the coast, up to the point where the Jordan pours its waters into the Lake of Genesareth, gives us respecting it some most interesting information.

* This is an extensive khan now in ruins, mentioned under the same name, in the life of Saladin, by Beha-ed-Dyn.

The following is the substance of his narrative :—From the Khan-Minieh, as also from the plain of El-Rhoueyr, the shore has a general bearing in the direction of north-east, and the high rocks limiting the plain to the northward, form a promontory beyond the khan that juts out into the lake. It is possible to proceed beyond this obstacle, by a narrow and difficult path, cut through the rock, that rounds the point at nearly the same level with the water. But the Damascus road, after leaving Khan-Minieh, enters directly into the mountain, climbing over it, so as to reach the Djesr-Benat-Yacoub, the bridge upon which the caravans cross the Jordan, to the south of the Bakr-el-Houleh.

After a march of fifty minutes, Robinson found himself on the opposite side of the khan. A few minutes more brought him to the Ayn-et-Tabighah (I have already said that our guides had named to me as the Nahr-et-Tabrhah, the fine rivulet to the northward of which we breakfasted, a little to the westward of the Khan-Minieh. This is evidently a mistake on their part). A small village is there, and a magnificent water-course, supplying still the wants of one or two pairs of mill-stones. Several other mills are in ruins. Exactly to the eastward of the mills, and to the right of the road is a fountain surrounded by a circular stone wall, like the basins of the Ayn-el-Barideh. This fountain is called Ayn-Eyoub.

Forty minutes later, Robinson arrived at the ruins called Tell-Houm. These ruins are on a hillock, literally covered with blocks of lava. They are very considerable, for they extend at least half a mile in length,

on a line parallel with the shore, and their breadth is about half that distance. They consist of foundations and overthrown walls, the whole constructed from unhewn blocks, with the exception of two ruins. One of these is an edifice of small dimensions, situated close to the beach, and seems to have been built with blocks of cut stone, columns and pilasters, all taken from more ancient monuments. Not far from that, are to be seen, lying on the ground, the remains of a monument which, with regard to size, workmanship, and decoration, surpasses everything that Robinson had seen up to that moment in Palestine. The learned traveller measured these ruins, and found the northern wall, one hundred and five feet long, and the western one, eighty feet. All the interior and approaches of the building are strewed with shafts of columns of compact calcareous stone, bearing very handsome Corinthian capitals, with fragments of sculptured entablatures and friezes loaded with ornaments. The columns are rather thick, but not very tall. A double column with the capitals and bases, hewn entirely from a single block, is to be found there, and Robinson justly observes, that this is a similar specimen to the magnificent double column of syenite, still remaining amongst the ruins of the cathedral of Tyre. Some blocks of large dimensions bear, on one of their sides, panels loaded with ornaments, so much defaced by time that they are no longer recognisable. And lastly the site of this beautiful ruin is lonely and desolate, whilst the waves of the lake bathe the fragments lying confusedly on the beach.

Robinson is not surprised that some people should

have thought of identifying Tel-Houm with the site of Capernaum. Nau and Pocock, who were the first to point out this interesting place, say that it is generally considered as presenting the ruins of Capernaum, and since their time, many travellers have visited Tel-Houm and have constantly repeated the same story.

On leaving Tell-Houm, Robinson crossed a very damp valley, in which are some springs called Ayoun-el-Abbâsy : beyond, the ground rises gently to the northward, and still exhibits a great number of blocks of lava. Twenty-five minutes later our traveller passed before a glen called Ouad-el-Echcheh, out of which a small rivulet runs, formed by several springs originating there : and lastly, after an hour and a half's march from Tel-Houm, he reached the bank of the Jordan.

From his general observations, Robinson arrives at this conclusion : That the Ayn-et-Tineh is the fountain which Josephus calls Capernaum, and that the site of this important place is at the Khan-Minieh. * But, to reach this decision, he is obliged to suppose : 1st. That the stones remaining from the destruction of the town, must have been carried off to Tabarieh, which supposition presents considerable difficulties ; and 2nd, that the fishes mentioned by Josephus, must be fishes from the lake itself, that ascend the stream formed by the Ayn-et-Tineh. Let us admit that the objection presented by the absence of considerable ruins at the Khan-Minieh, might be removed by Robinson's hypothesis ; I shall then ask were was Chinnereth, which was

* Quaresmius adopts the same conclusion with regard to the Khan-Minieh.

necessarily situated on the border of the Lake of Genesareth, in the plain of Gennesar, and to the northward of Capernaum?* Until that difficulty is removed, I maintain the opinion I have stated before, that the ruins of Capernaum are situated on the hill, to the westward of Ayn-el-Medaouarah, and that the ruins of Chinnereth are at Abou-Chouched.

What then is to become of the ruins of Khan-Minieh, and of those of Tel-Houm? To what ancient localities do they belong? Let me now endeavour to establish both these points.

We have still to discover on the Galilean, that is to say on the western coast of the Lake of Genesareth, two important places which are described in the gospels, as being in the neighbourhood of Capernaum. These are Bethsaida and Chorazin. We have seen that all the southern part of the plain of

* In the narrative of M. J. de Berton (*loc. cit*, p. 147), I read as follows:— "At a distance of 1050 yards beyond the Wady-Amoud is the Khan-el-Minia, where our Lord Jesus Christ delivered the Gadarean from the evil spirit, and caused it to pass into a herd of swine, which rushed into the lake from the top of the hill. Some ancient aqueducts pass under this hill, conveying the water which supplies the mills of El-Tabagha, in the vicinity of which there is a warm spring, called Tannour-Ayoub. At a distance of 2000 yards from this thermal spring, are to be seen ruins which still retain the name of Kafernahoum. About 2100 yards further on again, other ruins cover a large extent of ground: their name is El-Ascheh-el-Kebir. Lastly, 1000 yards distant from this last place is the mouth of the Jordan, the Scheriâa of the Arabs, forming vast morasses to the right and left, and a small island in the centre. I alighted on a soil perfectly volcanic, which looks like lava ground into powder, or like the rich soils on the sides of Vesuvius and in the Island of Ischia. On the left bank of the river, I descried the ruins of a city, probably Julias: the Arabs call them El-Aâradjé. A short distance off, on the mountains to the eastward, other vestiges of buildings were pointed out to me, called El-Maschadieh and Koufer-Hareb, and afterwards Eukliah, which is on the right bank of the river close to its mouth." Is it not the name of Julias, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ, which has subsisted, and is concealed under this appellation of Eukliah, obtained by M. de Berton? I am much inclined to adopt this conclusion.

Gennesar was occupied by Magdala, Capernaum, and Chinnereth; it is then very probably beyond Chinnereth, and consequently beyond the present village of Abou-Chouched, that we are to look for the traces of Chorazin and of Bethsaida. Beginning with the first of these places, let us see what we know of it.

In the Gospel of St. Matthew (xi. 21), and in that of St. Luke (x. 13), are related the maledictions pronounced by Christ against Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum; the name of Chorazin is spelt Χωραζὶν in St. Luke and Χοραζὶν in St. Matthew. St. Jerome tells us that it was a small place in Galilee, situated two miles (in secundo lapide) distant from Capernaum. It is true that Eusebius says twelve miles instead of two. But St. Jerome, by comparing the larger number with the length of the Lake of Genesareth itself, a length not exceeding twelve miles, proves that there has been necessarily a mistake in this number, which he correctly alters to the number *two*, as I have just stated. St. Jerome, in his commentary on Isaiah, says also: "In littore maris Gennezareth sita fuisse Capharnaüm, Tiberiada, Bethsaïda et Chorazain." This last locality was therefore on the coast.

Henry Ernst* was of opinion that this name ought to be decomposed into Χώρα, region, and Ζὶν, a local proper name. I am inclined to believe that Ernst was right, and for the following reason. Between the Khan-Minieh and the shore of the lake is the Ayn-et-Tineh (Robinson calls it Ayn-et-Tin). Around this fountain are ruins which Quaresmius and Robinson himself take

* "Observationes variæ." Amstel. 1636, lib. ii. cap. 6.

to be the ruins of Capernaum. The inference is, that these ruins, although from a distance they seemed to me rather inconsiderable, offer still sufficient dimensions to allow of a reasonable supposition that some ancient town has formerly existed at this point. In that case I decide that this town is Chorazin. According to St. Jerome, Chorazin was distant two miles from Capernaum. This measure accords exactly with the distance dividing the northern extremity of the ruins of Capernaum from the ruins situated at the Khan-Minieh and around the Ayn-et-Tineh. Besides, is it not probable that the name of Ayn-et-Tineh, or Ayn-et-Tin (whatever may be the precise form, it means in either case the spring of the Fig-tree), has merely retained and handed down to us the primitive appellation of the place which the evangelists call Χώρα Ζὶν, the region, the country, of Ζὶν. In Hebrew, ץר or ץר is the name of the dwarf palm-tree : it is therefore likely that the name Χώρα Ζὶν, meaning the country of the dwarf palm-tree, may have been transformed by the Arabs, in the first instance, into *Belad-et-tin*, country of the fig-tree; and that, subsequently, the only trace left of the name has been Ayn-et-Tin, the name of a spring which was not exposed to perish like the town in its neighbourhood. I submit with considerable confidence these observations to the reader, and propose to place the Chorazin of the gospels on the site of the ruins at the foot of the Khan-Minieh.

Let us now pass to Bethsaida. This city of Galilee is comprised by our Lord Jesus Christ in the maledictions uttered against its neighbours, Chorazin and Caper-

naum;* only, in St. Luke, the name of this town is written Βηθσαϊδά, whilst in St. Matthew it is written Βηθσαϊδὰν. This last form reveals to us the signification of the name, composed of the two words Beit (house) and Saïdoun (fishing); Bethsaida having evidently received its name from the occupation of its inhabitants. It was a town, since St. John (i. 43) and St. Luke (ix. 10) both apply to it the title of πόλις; however, St. Mark (viii. 22) calls it simply a borough (ἔξω τῆς κώμης, out of the borough, and εἰς τὴν κώμην, in the borough); besides, this double appellation is not peculiar to Bethsaida, since, in the gospels, Bethlehem itself is called sometimes a town, sometimes a borough.† Another designation, even of a more insignificant character, is given to Bethsaida, in a commentary on St. Peter, published from the Medicis manuscript and inserted in the fifth volume of the "Acta Sanctorum, mensis Junii." This passage, quoted by Reland, runs as follows: "Peter inhabited Galilee, which is a country of Palestine. His house was in Bethsaïda, a small town of no importance" (μικρόν τι καὶ εὐτελὲς πολίχνιον).

The gospels tell us also, that Bethsaida was on the border of the Lake of Genesareth,‡ and on its western shore; for we read εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδὰν, "on the shore opposite Bethsaida," in the second verse above quoted. Epiphanius § says, that Capernaum and Bethsaida were two places at no great distance from eacl other (οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τῶν τόπων τούτων τῷ διαστήματι).

* St. Matthew, xi. 21; St. Luke, x. 13.
† St. Luke, ii. 4; St. John, vii. 42.
‡ St. John, xii, 21; St. Mark, vi. 48, viii. 22.
§ Adv. Hæres, lib. ii. p. 437.

Josephus speaks of a Bethsaida which was situated in the Gaulanitis and in the Tetrarchy of Philip. This Bethsaida, says the historian of the Jews, was on the border of the Lake of Genesareth; it was repaired and embellished by the Tetrarch, who called it Julias,* in honour of Julia, daughter of Augustus (κώμην δὲ Βηθσαϊδὰν, πρὸς λίμνῃ, δὲ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδί πόλεως παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα, &c.) In the Jewish War (II. ix. 1) the same historian, repeating the same fact, says, that Julias was founded by the tetrarch Philip, in the Gaulanitis on the border of the sea (κὰν τῇ, κάτω Γαυλανιτικῇ). In the same book (III. x. 7) Josephus also tells us, that the Jordan throws itself into the Lake of Gennesar μετὰ πόλιν Ἰουλιάδα; these words have always been translated by "after the town of Julias;" but μετὰ is very often used in the meaning of ἐπὶ, εἰς, διὰ: this passage may then just as well be translated by "towards or near the town of Julias."

Now, could a town of the Gaulanitis be at the same time a town of Galilee, of which Herod Antipas was the Tetrarch? Reland concludes negatively, and he infers, in consequence, that there must have been originally two Bethsaidas, one of which, placed on the western shore of the lake, retained its name, and is often mentioned in the gospels; whilst the other, situated on the eastern shore, lost its original appellation on receiving that of Julias, given to it by Philip the Tetrarch. It is true, adds this learned scholar, that some persons suppose that Galilee comprised a portion of the Gaulanitis.

* Ant. Jud. XVIII. ii. 1.

Let us see if it is not possible to prove that Bethsaida-Julias was really on the western shore, and consequently identical with the Bethsaida of the Gospel. We must begin by observing, that it seems at least improbable, that two towns bearing exactly the same name should have been situated almost in contact with each other, on opposite sides of the Jordan. Let us observe, besides, that a part of the *Decapolis*, containing the whole territory of Scythopolis (Beth-shan), was positively situated on the right bank of the Jordan; whilst all the remainder of the province was on the left bank. That being the case, there is no reason why we should refuse to admit that a portion of the Gaulanitis may have been situated on the right bank of the Jordan, whilst all the remainder of this province was on the left bank.

Fortunately we have something better than mere surmises to produce in favour of the opinion, that Bethsaida-Julias was the Bethsaida of the gospels. Josephus supplies us with positive information, in a narrative which I have already discussed when treating of Capernaum, and a portion of which I am obliged to repeat; because from this narrative results, I believe, the positive demonstration that Julias was on the right bank of the Jordan. When Josephus had a fall from his horse, in consequence of which accident he was carried wounded to Capernaum in the first instance, and to Tarichæ on the following night, he was coming to the assistance of Julias, closely besieged by Sylla, general of the royal troops. Sylla had placed detached posts on the roads leading to Cana and to

Gamala, for the purpose of preventing the inhabitants from receiving any supplies from the Galileans. Now, as a first observation, if Julias was on the left bank of the Jordan, this precaution, in a military sense, would have been perfectly absurd. Detached posts are not thrown on the opposite side of a river; the ford or fords, supposing there are several, are guarded, and no other precautions are considered necessary. Sylla was encamped at a distance of only five stadia, or, about a thousand yards, from Julias. Jeremiah, sent by Josephus to the assistance of the place, establishes himself near the Jordan, at a distance of only one stadium from the town. Jeremiah was a soldier,* and consequently he never could have thought of placing himself on the opposite side of a river into which he and his troop were nearly certain to be driven and drowned. His encamping ground was then necessarily on the right bank of the Jordan, and at a distance of only one stadium from the town. Skirmishes are constantly taking place between the belligerent parties. The evident inference is then, that they are both on the same bank. Josephus, in his turn, comes to assist the operations of Jeremiah; he prepares an ambuscade, into which, on his feigning to fly, the enemy, whilst pursuing him, falls by surprise; whereupon Josephus returns to the charge and routs the soldiers of Sylla. And are we to suppose that all this took place on both banks of the Jordan? And that each party crossed and recrossed the river with the enemy on their shoulders!

* And Jeremiah was by no means rash or venturous according to the statement of Josephus.—*Translator.*

Such a supposition is impossible; and in a military view, ridiculous. I therefore presume to conclude, 1st, that Julias was on the right bank of the Jordan; 2nd, that Bethsaida-Julias is the Bethsaida of the gospels; 3rd, that the fine ruins of Tel-Houm are undoubtedly the ruins of both. Robinson * quotes two passages from ancient historians which seem to prove that I am mistaken. I am aware that Pliny † says, "Jordanes in lacum se fundit amœnis circumseptum oppidis, ab oriente Juliade et Hippo, à meridie Taricheæ," &c.; and that St. Jerome, in his commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew (xvi.), writes as follows:— "Philippus . . . ex nomine filiæ ejus (Augusti) Juliadem trans Jordanem exstruxit." Let us examine these assertions which, if established, will disprove my conclusions. Pliny, who had never visited the country, was as likely to fall into an error with regard to Julias, as he has evidently done in the case of Taricheæ; for this reason, as Julias was known to be a town of the Gaulanitis, he may the more likely have supposed it to be situated to the eastward of the Lake of Genesareth. With regard to St. Jerome, the Julias he speaks of thus, is the Julias of Perea, so called by Herod-Antipas, who gave it this name in exchange for that of Betharamphtha, as we are informed by Josephus himself. ‡ This town was also called Livias, because the Julia, whose name it received, was Julia Livia, the wife of Augustus, and not his daughter. This last town was situated at the foot of Mount Faour, or Phegor as we are told by Eusebius, at the word φογώρ.

Vol. iii p. 308, note 2. † Hist. Nat. V. 15. ‡ Ant. Jud, XVIII. ii. 1.

Besides to the testimony of Pliny, we can oppose another far more conclusive, as far as I can judge; the assertion of Ptolemy, the geographer, who, in the Itinerary of Galilee, lays down the degrees, of "Sephoris, Capharcotia, IVLIAS! and Tiberias."

One objection only can be raised against the conclusions I have deduced from the narrative of Josephus; which is that if Jeremiah came to encamp at a distance of only one stadium from Julias, he could not have been at the same time close to the Jordan; since from Tel-Houm it took Robinson an hour and a half to reach the bank of the river. To this I shall answer that the expression made use of by Josephus is merely, πλησίον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ, which may perfectly well be translated by "on the side of the Jordan," an expression by which Josephus may have merely meant to indicate that the camp of Jeremiah was between the city and the river.* In sum of all I confidently maintain the identity of Bethsaida-Julias with the Bethsaida of the gospels, and of the latter with the ruins of Tel-Houm.

On Robinson's arrival on the banks of the Jordan, he was seized with fever, which prevented him from joining his companion, Mr. Smith, in an excursion to the left side of that river. Guided by a scheikh of the Rhaouarnas, Mr. Smith crossed the Jordan at a ford (it was then the 20th of June), the water reaching only to the saddle-girths of their horses. In five minutes he

* I should rather infer from this that there is a slight alteration in Josephus, and that Jeremiah came to encamp at the distance of a stadium *from Sylla's camp*, which seems much more probable than his being nearer to Julias than Sylla himself, who was besieging the place from a distance of *five* stadia. In this case, the distance noted by Robinson, instead of contradicting, would confirm M. de Saulcy's argument.—*Translator.*

reached the ruins of a village of no great extent, constructed of unhewn blocks of black lava, similar to those situated on the opposite bank. The only object that attracted his attention, amidst this mass, was a small sarcophagus also in lava. A quarter of an hour afterwards he met with a second ruined village, called Mechadyeh, constructed, like the first, with lava blocks. A march of twenty-seven minutes, still on the shore of the lake, divides Mechadyeh from another larger place, a ruined city built also of blocks of lava, on a small eminence projecting a little into the water. This locality is called Doukah. The plain situated on this shore of the Lake of Genesareth, and containing these various ruins, is called El-Batihah. From thence Smith proceeded to Et-Tell, situated northward, by five degrees west, with reference to the position of Doukah. You must march in a diagonal line, across the plain of El-Batihah, for nearly an hour, to arrive from one of these points at the other. Et-Tell presents the most important ruins of the plain, and the Rhaouarnas consider them as being those of a metropolis. Here again are no materials except unhewn blocks of lava, without the slightest trace of architectural embellishment. Mr. Smith by recrossing the Jordan at another ford, returned in twenty minutes to the spot where Dr. Robinson's tent was pitched. This learned traveller positively recognises Julias in the ruins of Et-Tell: but three objections which appear to me insurmountable, oppose this identification;—1st. In Et-Tell there are only, what may be called, ruins of a barbarous age, and not a single vestige is to be found of sculptured buildings,

such as must have been contained in the Julias which succeeded Bethsaida. 2nd. Et-Tell is not on the border of the Lake of Genesareth; but more than a league, or three miles to the northward; consequently the name of Bethsaida (the Fishing-place) is totally inapplicable. 3rd, and lastly, the narrative of the battle fought by Josephus against Sylla, under the walls of Julias, cannot in any of its details be applied to the ancient town which formerly occupied the site of Et-Tell. These three objections on the contrary disappear at once, the moment you identify Bethsaida-Julias with the immense city, the imposing vestiges of which are now denominated Tel-Houm. In conclusion, therefore, I maintain the opinions I have previously delivered.

From the point where we halted, the prospect is so beautiful that we desire to linger. But time is wearing away, and we have still a march of seven hours before us, ere we reach Safed. Notwithstanding the sun, who seems disposed to make us pay dearly for the short interval of shade which we have been enjoying, we must mount our horses again, and climb up the huge wall of mountains that seems to intercept our road. At last we are in motion, and in a few minutes reach the ascent, over which passes the high road from Damascus, leading into Iturea, by the Djesr-benat-Yakoub.

When we have gained the summit, which we find rocky to a degree that recals the most barren regions of Judæa, we cast a long parting look upon the blessed lake on whose shores and waters so many events have taken place, for ever linked with the destinies of

humanity, and again, and again salute it with a warm farewell. From the highest pinnacle I had looked once more on the Lake of Genesareth, and a few steps further on, when the path having declined, my eye could not reach beyond a stony horizon of a few hundred yards in extent, an indescribable sadness came over my spirit. I attempted not to investigate the feeling; I felt it weigh heavily, but made no effort to shake it off.

This state of mind is probably the cause of the small interest I take in the country I am now passing through, and this indifference must have been even greater than I supposed it to be at the time, for the remembrance of the entire district comprised between the shores of the lake and the approaches to Safed, remains completely dim and uncertain in my memory. With regard to my journey through the Holy Land, I can when I choose retrace every march, hour by hour, and can bring before my eyes, as in a panorama, all the sights repulsive or beautiful that I met by the way. But of these few last hours, I retain only a misty recollection. I need not say that I now regret this dreamy listlessness, for the ground I was then treading is of that hallowed kind, where the attention of the traveller ought never to flag. All I can do is to transcribe the few notes written on my arrival at Safed, and which I must dismiss rapidly for fear of falling into errors I should subsequently regret. I find in my note-book the following remarks:—Heat tremendous! More dreadful than the warmest day of July in our own country. By one o'clock we march in a parallel line with the Ouad-el Lamoun, lying to the left of our road. We descry

numerous cells of anchorites on the barren flank of the ouad. Further on, we enter the Ouad-el-Heqab.

Here my recollection becomes clearer; apparently I had succeeded in shaking off my depression. This ouad is large and deep, and full of magnificent verdure; the entire flank, which we descend by a tolerably steep path, is ornamented by bushes covered with leaves, and tall broom plants, bearing in abundance beautiful small flowers of a pure pearly white. To our right, and before us, masses of rock rise perpendicularly to a prodigious height, and resemble the walls of some giant's citadel. Further on, but at the bottom of the valley, we descry a building, in front of which a torrent runs; this proves to be a mill belonging to the town of Safed—the torrent is the water-course that sets it in motion. On the opposite bank some magnificent olive-trees are regularly planted, as if in an orchard. Several men are squatting under these trees, and seem to be expecting our passage, for we must cross the torrent at this spot, and then ascend the left bank of the ouad, so as to reach the high ridge upon which the town of Safed is built.

The Abbé, Edward, and I, lead the march of our little column of cavalry. On reaching the ford, we recognise in the small assembly we had descried from a distance, a number of Israelites, who are waiting with great impatience to welcome Gustavus de Rothschild. For ourselves, we pass on, quite naturally, without exciting the least attention. When our young fellow-traveller appears in his turn, everybody rises, all heads are uncovered, and an harangue is pronounced in honour of his arrival. The reader may suppose that, prompted by

discretion, we quickened the pace of our horses, that our presence might not disturb this token of respect (somewhat interested I fear) from the chief members of the Jewish community of Safed. Immediately on passing the mill, a very steep ascent commences, until you reach a chalky eminence, planted with fine trees. This is the site of the important city of Safed, above which rises an ancient castle, of Gothic appearance, and totally dismantled. We were surprised, on entering Safed, to find ourselves, as if by enchantment, transported apparently into a city of western Europe. As was the case at Tiberias, the Jewish population, consisting chiefly of emigrants from Europe, have retained their native costume and head-dress. The houses, rebuilt by the new inhabitants after the tremendous earthquake of the 1st of January, 1837, are provided with terraces and windows. The women show their faces without scruple. In short, the habits of the place seem perfectly foreign to the country.

Through all the streets we encounter the bustle of people running to meet Rothschild; and amongst them a party of fifty, having at their head the Rabbi of the synagogue of Safed. We announce the immediate arrival of the guest so anxiously expected, and derive some amusement from the character of couriers, which we are evidently supposed to fill, and which we adopt with perfect good-humour. At last, after having traversed the town, from south to north, we arrive on a fine lawn shadowed by enormous trees planted in quincunx. A wall runs along this promenade to the westward, and in this wall we perceive the doors of the mansion where we are about

to purchase hospitality. It appears tolerably clean, and we anticipate a more tranquil night's rest than we enjoyed at Tabarieh. Our horses, luggage, and moukris, take up their abode in the adjoining house.

As the lodgings we occupy belong to members of the same creed with Rothschild, who appear to take us for a portion of his household, and treat us as such without ceremony, which I am not much disposed to submit to, I lose patience at last, and give these worthy people to understand in round terms, that I am the leader and paymaster of the caravan; in short, that they must take orders from me alone, and obey them without question. Five minutes suffice to place everything upon a perfect understanding, and the evening passes over admirably. Our hosts, recovered from their temporary surprise, soon become perfectly polite and obliging.

Let me now say a few words respecting the topography of Safed. This town is built upon a high chalky mountain, and is perfectly visible from Tabarieh, and even from a greater distance. The Ouad-el-Lamoun, on the eastern flank of which Safed stands, is probably the same as the Ouad-el-Aámoud; and as these names differ but little in sound, the Arabs, who saw before their eyes the shaft of a column pointed out by Robinson, might easily make this trifling change of pronunciation. The Ouad-el-Lamoun, by the side of which we proceeded at first from south to north, soon makes a sharp elbow, which throws it considerably to the left, but soon after it resumes a direction evidently parallel to that of the first branch. In the course of this bend it is intersected by the Ouad-el-Heqab, the direction of which is

also from north to south. Lastly, before reaching Safed, we observed, and left to the right, the village of Akbarah.

From the house where we lodged, we descry clearly before us, to the westward, the Ouad-el-Lamoun, wide and verdant. On the opposite side of this ouad there are heights, in the midst of which, on a line parallel with the direction of the Ouad-el-Lamoun, and beginning from the south, are three villages, called Semmouâyeh, Yaroun, and Soufsafeh. These villages were designated to Robinson under the very different names of Semû'y, Meirôn,* and Sa' Sa'. Which are the correct appellations I cannot decide, and I have unfortunately forgotten by whom they were conveyed to me. If it was by our moukri Sayd, as he was in the habit of mutilating names and words in common conversation, I should prefer retaining those given by Robinson. If, on the other hand, they were dictated by Mohammed or Matteo, I would venture to prefer my names as being more correct. As an additional reason, the name Yaroun accords closely with that of Iron, a city of the tribe of Naphtali, mentioned in Joshua (xix., 38). I must add, however, that Zimmermann's map marks towards the north-west of Safed, and a little higher up than the southern point of the Bahr-el-Houleh, a place called Yaroun, followed by the letter R, meaning *ruins*. Is this the real Iron of the Bible? It may be

* Robinson (vol. iii. p. 333, note 5), does not seem quite sure of the form of this name. His note is as follows: "This name (Meirôn) we also heard pronounced Meirûm." I must observe that in some passages extracted by Reland from the books of the Talmud, mention is made of a place called Meïroun (Pal. p. 817, ad voces Guseh-Khalab and Giscala), and which was very probably situated near the Giscala of the Rabbis, Γισχαλὰ of Josephus, the present el-Djich.

so. Unfortunately I cannot tell where Zimmermann has found this indication, the correctness of which I strongly doubt, having observed many other errors, but without wishing to impute them to him.

Numerous writers have attributed to Safed an antiquity to which it probably has no just title; for no mention is made of its castle before the Crusades. Robinson thinks that the foundation of this castle is to be attributed to king Fulk (of Anjou) which carries it to somewhere about the year 1140. In 1188, one year after the disastrous battle of Hattin, Saladin came in person to superintend the siege of Safed. The fortress resisted five weeks, and then surrendered on capitulation. The garrison was allowed to retire to Sour. In 1220, the castle was dismantled by order of El-Mâlek-el-Moâzzem, sultan of Damascus. In 1240, the sultan Ismayl, by a treaty concluded with the Christians, restored to them Safed, Kalaat-ech-Chakif, and Tiberias. The Knights Templars immediately rebuilt the castle. In June, 1266, the sultan Beïbars laid siege to Safed, the garrison of which place submitted in July. The conditions were that their lives should be spared, but Beïbars mercilessly ordered the two thousand persons who had trusted to his pledged word to be massacred in cold blood. Ever since that date the castle of Safed has remained in the power of the Mohammedans. During the last century, the scheikh Dhaher obtained possession of Safed, and established there the seat of his authority; in consequence of this, his grand-son, our brave Mohammed, still bears the name of Mohammed-el-Safedy. It was written in the book of destiny that

the Christians should once more become masters of this important fortress, and in 1799, a garrison of four hundred men was placed in Safed, as an advanced post of the French army. Safed is the seat of a synagogue and of a Jewish school, both of high reputation for several centuries.

It seems, in other respects, as if, for a hundred years past, this town had been under the malediction of Heaven. In 1759, an earthquake completely overthrew it, destroying the greater part of the population. Safed rose from its ruins, and recovered something of its former splendour, when, on the 1st of January, 1837, a second earthquake, more terrible than the first, again transformed the unfortunate city into a heap of ruins, under which many thousands of the inhabitants were buried. The Jews alone perished to the number of four or five thousand in this dreadful catastrophe. The loss of the Christians and Mahommedans amounted to about one third of this number. Everybody may read in Note XLII. annexed to the third volume of Dr. Robinson's work, the description of the aspect of desolation presented by the remains of Safed, to an American missionary, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, who having left Beyrout for the purpose of carrying Christian assistance to the innumerable victims of this earthquake, arrived in Safed eighteen days after the destruction of the town. In less than two years, the surviving Jews and new comers had, like patient ants, partly re-constructed their favourite abode, and we consequently found Safed better built, and looking more attractive than ever.

Our evening has been past in perfect tranquillity,

putting in order our notes and collections of the last few days. To-morrow morning we start for Damascus, passing by Kades.

March 4th.

This morning we rose refreshed by an excellent night's rest, completely free from all unwelcome intruders. The sky is beautifully clear, and the day promises to be as fine as yesterday. We mount our horses by half-past seven, and leave Safed, in expectation that the order I have given to Matteo to direct the caravan on the road to Kades, will be punctually obeyed.

Our moukri, Sayd, presents himself with his face strangely discomposed; his lips are swollen until we can scarcely recognise him. I hasten to enquire the cause of his transformed features, and receive the following particulars:—We had in our luggage a tin box, full of arsenical soap, brought from France to prepare the skins of the birds we might wish to preserve. Sayd smelt it, found the odour very much to his taste, and conceived that it must be some peculiar kind of sweetmeat. "These Christian dogs are gormandisers!" says he to himself, and thrusting his fingers into the box, fills his mouth with the supposed confection. No sooner has he tasted it than he hastens to eject as fast as he can the morsel which he conceived to be delicious; but he is not quick enough to save the skin of his mouth and his mucous system from considerable damage. As he has not swallowed a particle of the noxious compound, he will escape with a suffering and a great deal of shame. We mock

and laugh at him without remorse or measure, and the poor devil is so crest-fallen, that he does not attempt a single word in reply to our gibes. Fortunately, this accident, which might have become serious, was not attended by any disastrous consequences.

We leave Safed by its northern extremity, and then immediately direct our course eastward. The base of the mountain upon which the town is built, is encircled on this side by an ouad, well cultivated, and richly planted with orange trees. Before us, and a little to the left, towards the bottom of the ouad, is the village of Ayn-ez-Zeytoun. To the right, on a higher level, appears the village of Biriah, and still further on, Daharyeh-el-Fouqâah.* The flank of the mountain of Safed bears at this point a second portion of the town itself, divided from the part we have just left by the castle, and the lawn planted with trees, which I have already mentioned. We march along this division of Safed as we descend towards the bottom of the valley; then we climb the opposite flank, where we pass by one or two fountains of tolerably fine water by the road side, and halt there for a moment to refresh our horses.

As the road we follow ascends at first rather abruptly in the direction of Kades, I do not distrust Matteo, but move on, believing we are marching towards that town; but I speedily discover my mistake. We soon turn along the crest of a very wide and deep ouad,

* The village of Daharyeh-et-Tahtah is quite close to Safed, on the same flank with the town, as regards the Ouad-el-Lamoun, towards the bottom of the valley, and to the northward of Safed.

destitute of cultivation, and with its general direction bearing east-south-east. It is quite evident this road will never take us to Kades, and I begin to suspect that Matteo, under the influence of some extraordinary terror on our account, arising from the character of the Motoualys, forming the majority of the population of the country, in the midst of which Kades is situated, has led us into the track conducting to the Djesr-benat-Yakoub, so as to compel us to cross the Jordan, and then follow the high road to Damascus. The fact is, our friend Matteo has been playing one of his dragoman's tricks. But he will find that he has been reckoning without his host.

For some months past, I have contracted the habit, now a settled one, of making every dragoman follow my directions, instead of allowing myself to be blindly led by him. I shall certainly not abandon my plan and submit to the whims of M. Matteo. I ride close up to him, and announce in a tone admitting of no remonstrance, that I am not deceived by his manœuvre, and am determined not to take the road of the Djesr-benat-Yakoub; that since he has chosen to lead us down into the plain of the Bahr-el-Houleh, I have now made up my mind to cross this plain to Banias; and that, consequently, he had better find us a proper halting-place for the night, or else I shall settle accounts with him in a manner very contrary to his calculations. Matteo, taken by surprise, protests solemnly that he is now, as ever, ready to obey me, and that we are sure to find a good khan at El-Melahah. At the same time, swears by every thing he holds most sacred, that he

has fulfilled his conscientious duty as a faithful and devoted guide in preventing us from going to Kades, where we were certain to have been plundered, if not murdered, by the Motoualys. I return no answer to this sentimental tirade, and as it is impossible to retrace our way back, we proceed on the road into which he has trepanned us.

The ouad, into which we have now entered, descends from the heights of Safed to the valley of the Jordan, and takes a direction the general bearing of which is east-south-east. Mahommed calls it the Ouad-Ferâ-éum, and Matteo the Ouad-el-Merâ'-af (the valley of the nose, مراعف). The plain at the lower extremity of this ouad, and through which the Jordan runs, is called Merdj or Ardh-el-Kheyth, the land of the string. (Kheyth means literally, thread, string; and metaphorically, a string, a file of camels or locusts). To the left of the spot where the Ouad-Ferâ-éum opens upon the plain of the Jordan, and on the flank of the mountain, a small ledge is occupied by the village of Ferâ-éum. Below this village, and to the left of the road we are following, in a north-easterly direction, as soon as we issue from the ouad, there are considerable ruins, consisting, as we have invariably found in this part of the country, of blocks of lava scattered over the ground; but none of our attendants can tell me their name. In the direction of this same point, to the east by south, and at a distance of eight or ten thousand yards, we perceive a circular hillock, which I am told is also covered with ruins, and called, according to the name Mohammed gives me, El-Mantar. In Zimmermann's

map, El-Mantar is situated at a distance of seven or eight thousand yards from Ferâab (our Ferâ-éum). This is undoubtedly an error. Besides, this map lays down on the Ouad-Furâm, a village called Ferâab, and further off, to the westward, another named Fur'âm. These two villages are one and the same, and situated, as I have said, to the left of the point where the cliffs of the Ouad-Ferâ-éum cease—the range of mountains bordering the valley of the Bahr-el-Houleh, then turning towards the north from that spot.

Lastly, still looking from the same point where we enter the plain, in the neighbourhood of the village of Ferâ-éum, we descry to the right (in the direction of south-south-east), a long and narrow hill, the axis of which runs directly from north to south, and bearing on its northern points two distinct summits, placed in the direction of the axis, and covered with very considerable ruins formed from blocks of lava, as far as I was able to judge, from a distance of nearly two thousand yards, which separated us from the extremity of the hill. This hill overlooks the whole plain which was necessarily commanded by the city placed on that point. The place appears to have been of considerable extent, as the ruins extend to the hillocks commanding the Ardh-el-Kheyth. The most ancient part of this city must have been a fortress occupying the long hill I have just named, and the city rising subsequently under the protection of the fortress, went on extending westward, to the plain and as far as the opposite declivities. The reader may perceive that my theory with regard to the cities, placed like keys of the country, at each extremity of the plains watered by

the three great lakes connected by the Jordan, finds immediate application towards the southern point of the Rhôr that encircles the Bahr-el-Houleh. I regret exceedingly not having been able to ascertain how these important ruins are designated. Now, that I have pointed them out, perhaps by procuring guides from the neighbourhood, some future traveller may be able to ascertain the name which the wandering tribes of the Rhôr and the inhabitants of Ferâ-éum must necessarily be well acquainted with.

Before leaving the Ouad-ferâ-éum, we halted for breakfast, and to screen ourselves against a burning sun, behind the perpendicular cliffs forming the right flank of the ouad. There we waited until two o'clock in the afternoon, to avoid exposure to dangerous *coups de soleil.* The Abbé profited by this halt to fill his herbarium from the bottom of the ouad, where a beautiful rivulet rolls gently from rock to rock through shrubs and fine aquatic plants. Here we find again in great abundance the *Fritillaria persica.* The breaks and windings of the rocks produced also a good supply of pretty land shells.

Whilst we were resting, a fine white eagle came hovering over our heads, and alighted on the top of the cliff opposite to that which shades us from the sun. Edward immediately takes his gun and darts off in the hope of killing this singular bird, which appears to be of a rare species, perhaps unknown to naturalists. Our sportsman has nearly succeeded in climbing the abrupt cliff on the top of which the eagle is quietly standing; he is within range, and about to fire leisurely, with a good aim,

when the eagle becomes aware of his evil intentions, and soars away. Edward fires and misses; the stone upon which he had placed his foot slides off and gives way under him. He falls upon his back, and in this ludicrous position fires his second shot at the bird, who receives no injury, and quietly sails off to the eastward. Our friend, on his return from this sporting exploit, was obliged to endure many jokes on his failure.

As we cannot remain for ever in the Ouad-el-Ferâ-éum, although we find it particularly agreeable to lie stretched on the grass after breakfast, and shaded from the overpowering heat, we conceive that our luggage has now made sufficient progress, having had a start of two hours in advance; we therefore resolve, though with some reluctance, to mount again and to proceed on our journey.

As soon as we discover the heights, we wind along their base, proceeding at first in a north-easterly direction. The ruins consisting of blocks of lava, which I have already pointed out as lying on the flank of the hill situated below the village of Ferâ-éum, continue to show themselves during several minutes, as far as the flank of another ouad, called the Ouad-el-Qoubâa (the valley of the porcupine). From this point, we continue in the same direction, marching due north for several hours. Our luggage is far in front, and we quicken our pace to overtake it. We soon perceive to our right a pretty little blue lake; the Bahr-el-Houleh. The plain we are now crossing must be of wonderful fertility; the soil is rich and luxuriant, and with good cultivation would yield a superabundant produce. This requires no

other proof than the splendid vegetation by which it is entirely covered. The lake is narrow, and bordered on each side by a forest of magnificent reeds of the finest green. Whilst we have been marching, the day has sensibly declined, and it is nearly six o'clock when we reach El-Mellahah, on a line with the northern point of the Bahr-el-Houleh.

A moment before we were deceived by a strange illusion, though the cause was perfectly natural. On the opposite side of the lake, and on the dark-green background of reeds, we saw suddenly a long wavy line of the purest white, rapidly advancing; this line was continuous, and resembled an enormous reptile. Was it the phantom of one of those antediluvian monsters which dragged their length through mosses thirty feet high, and was doing us the honour of reappearing upon earth to cause an unexpected surprise? We paused in astonishment, and gazing with wonder endeavoured to penetrate the phenomenon. Soon several breaks began to appear in the line, and then we ascertained that the deception was produced by a company of white birds, flying in close order like a flock of wild ducks.

We are now at El-Mellahah, where we find one or two deserted hovels which have been, or are, perhaps, still used as mills, though now inundated by the water of a wide and overflowing rivulet. It would be scarcely possible to obtain lodgings here, and, moreover, there is no sign of our luggage; so, whether we choose or not, we must go on. We ford a pool several feet deep, formed by the rivulet of El-Mellahah, and begin to grumble, as night is coming on apace, and we have already

had some experience of the dangers to be apprehended by people travelling at night through this happy country.

An hour before reaching El-Mellahah, Matteo, who felt conscious that a storm was gathering over his head, had deemed it prudent to take the lead at an increased pace, under pretence of preparing our lodgings, after having collected our luggage. On seeing the state in which he found the halting-place he had promised us, our envoy thought it would be wiser not to wait our arrival, and consequently spurred on a-head, leaving only Mohammed for our guide. During another hour, we marched on in utter darkness, swearing like Pagans, and expecting to fall into an ambuscade at every step. What contributed still more to impress on us this dark foreboding, was, that a little beyond El-Mellahah, we descried, on the flank of one of the hills along the base of which we were marching, an Arab encampment, from which proceeded loud noises of people in conversation. Then from this village we suddenly heard the cry: "Ya Mohammed! Eh! Mohammed!" to which our remaining guide immediately replied by a continued exclamation. What was the meaning of this? Was it a signal? And now that we had thrust our head into the lion's mouth, was the lion about to devour us? Those amongst us who were provided with guns, snatched and loaded them; those who, like myself, had only pistols, held them in hand, ready, if not to sell their lives dearly, at any rate to face a danger boldly, which fortunately existed but in their imaginations. Nobody had any thought of attacking us, and after a tolerably long march, we discovered

a few fires, and heard at the same time the bells of our mules.

At last we have reached our lodgings! Agreeable quarters indeed! Two enormous trees, growing out of a muddy soil, the fetid smell of which nearly chokes us, leave scarcely room enough for our camp-cots, but no tents; such is our shelter for the night. To pass twelve hours in company with the frogs, has nothing in itself particularly unpleasant; but, in the east, where fever reigns throughout the year, in such unhealthy ground as that on which we are encamped, we have a right to be vexed when compelled to sleep under the open sky, with the pestilential effluvia of a marsh as the only substitute for bed-curtains. My companions are vexed, but I become absolutely furious, and overwhelm Matteo with maledictions and reproaches. The Abbé is the only one who keeps his temper, which is proof even against this trial. He establishes his camp-cot by the foot of one of the large trees, hangs his cloak on one of the lower branches, to form a canopy over his head, and then waits patiently until bed-time may arrive.

Matteo, who dares not show his face again, is snivelling in a corner, whilst preparing the meal of which we are greatly in need, and Mohammed comes several times to tell me of the distress of our dragoman and to entreat forgiveness for him. After dinner, which was not over before nearly ten o'clock at night, we prepared some warm wine, and with the aid of our tchibouks, endeavoured to pass the night without sleeping, so as to run the least possible risk of the dreaded fever. For half an hour, the howling of a troop of jackals in the

neighbourhood of our bivouac, assisted to keep us awake, but fatigue is more potent than resolution, and all soon ended by throwing themselves upon their beds, regardless of the consequences.

Let me now turn back to note such topographical information as I was able to collect concerning the road we have traversed between El-Mellahah and the spot where our fires are blazing round us. For this I am indebted to Mohammed. After having crossed the pool and rivulet of El-Mellahah, we passed before the Ayn-el-Belathat (the spring of the large stones). This Ayn is well named, for it is surrounded on all sides by blocks of stone, which are certainly the remains of earlier buildings. It was therefore the site of some small city in ancient times. After the Ayn-el-Belathat the road passes before the mouth of a narrow ouad, called the Ouah-Harrah (not indicated in Zimmermann's map, but the district from which it emerges is there called the Djebel Haraouy). Half way up the hill, beyond this Ouad-Harrah, stands the miserable hamlet from which Mohammed had been hailed. This hamlet is called Besamoun. Considerable ruins extend along the foot of the same hill, bearing the name of Kharbet-Besamoun. (M. de Berton places Besamoun, which he calls Basimoun, and the neighbouring ruins, fourteen hundred and sixty yards to the north of the Ayn-Blata, Ayn-el-Belathat). Further on, but at a distance which I cannot venture to determine even approximately, there must be a large valley called the Ouad-Arous. To the northward of this valley we are encamped, and about two or three hundred yards distant from the foot of the

hills, and also from the marsh. I have retained a confused remembrance of an ancient cistern, which we observed at the close of daylight, before reaching the spot where the ruins of Besamoun are situated, and in the vicinity of Ayn-el-Belathat, but I find it now impossible to mark the exact locality.

March 5th.

We felt no inclination to remain longer than was absolutely necessary, in the unhealthy place where we had passed the night. We were therefore ready to start at a very early hour, but just as we were on the move, I took it into my head to approach a little nearer to the morass, concealed at a distance of about two hundred yards from our bivouac, by a dense thicket of reeds, to look for insects. I encounter such a quantity that I cannot resist the temptation of gathering, though with some loss of time, an immense collection of zoological treasures, and thus delay the departure of the caravan for more than an hour and a half. The luggage has gone on in advance, and it is only by dint of entreaties that I am prevailed upon to leave this place, so rich in entomological discoveries. As Belly has preceded us on foot, with the hope of killing some snipe by the side of the marsh, we have given him abundance of time to enjoy his favourite sport. Nevertheless, he might have fared the worse for his solitary walk, for just as we came up with him, at a distance of about a league (three miles) from the place of our bivouac, we saw emerging from the reeds behind him, an Arab, naked to the loins, who had marked him as a species of game quite suited to his own peculiar

fancy, with a gun in his hand, and probably with the intention of shooting him, if the opportunity had offered of doing so without danger to himself. This fellow, on discovering suddenly a well armed band, instead of a solitary rambler, deemed it prudent to disappear in the morass; he made but a single leap into the reeds, and concealed himself within the thicket, without daring to emerge again until we were at a respectable distance.

After leaving the two large trees which had served us as our hotel during the night, the first objects we encounter are some ancient ruins, called Kharbet-el-Aamoudieh. In the vicinity of these is a modern *Tourbeh* of some saint, held in veneration amongst the Mussulmen. The mountains, by the foot of which we pass, begin to assume a totally different aspect from that we have been long accustomed to. Numerous trees are scattered here and there, and give them an alpine look, very agreeable to gaze on.

During our progress, we occasionally alight from our horses to look for insects under the stones. We find some exceedingly rare and curious, but as under the same stones we also stumble on a fine collection of snakes, which we had not the slightest inclination to disturb, we soon abate our entomological ardour. It would be difficult to find a place more liberally supplied with reptiles than the Ardh-el-Houleh. Fortunately, these unpleasant companions are still a little benumbed by winter, and we may indulge in the satisfaction of killing them without incurring any real danger. But what must this country be in the hot season, when even now it is

impossible to walk a dozen paces without encountering some venomous animal.

Whilst we were making our collection of coleoptera, the Abbé was equally active in gathering plants, and amongst the number, he picked up a magnificent iris, with white and grey flowers, striped with black. I know not whether this beautiful plant has been acclimated in our own gardens, but certainly the attempt might be made with excellent effect.

Towards the point where the nature of the marshy soil of the Ardh-el-Houleh begins, in the opinion of our guides, to be sufficiently consistent to bear us and our horses, and will thus enable us to pass from the western to the eastern hills of this extensive valley, we ride through a long Arab village, formed of tents and huts. Is this a permanent village? I am inclined to think not. No one can tell me its name; and from this I infer that it is a mere temporary location, although of considerable extent. On leaving this village, we turn immediately eastward, along a ridge of small hills, to the left of which is another village, called El-Khadesa. We are now turning our backs upon a kind of fortress, situated on the summit of a hill, about three miles distant from us, and called Kalâat-Hounin. We cross a small, low, well-cultivated plain, a few hundred yards in breadth at the utmost. As this plain is intersected by a number of small trenches, dug for irrigation, it is no easy undertaking to pass over it. Our horses sink into the trenches up to their knees; but we contrive at last to reach the foot of a high range of hills, running from west to east, and closing in to the

northward the extensive basin of the Bahr-el-Houleh. We ascend a few yards up the side of these green acclivities, and from thence, looking to our right, or to the southward, we enjoy a complete view of the Ardh-el-Houleh.

Let us now dwell for a moment on this lake, and begin by recalling its different names. We read in Joshua (xi. 1.): That on the summons of Jabin, King of Hazor, several kings united together to resist the Israelites on their arrival in the land of Canâan. 5. "And when all these kings were met together, they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom (מי-מרום) to fight against Israel." (This name of May-Merom meant the waters from the high country, the upper waters). 7. "So Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly, and they fell upon them." The kings of the coalition were beaten, and pursued, sword in hand, as far as the neighbourhood of Zidon, or rather to the Phœnician Sea.

In Judges we read (iv. 2): "And the Lord sold them unto the hands of Jabin, king of Canâan, that reigned in Hazor; the captain of whose host was Sisera." Then follows the narration of the battle gained against the Canâanites by the prophetess Deborah and Barak. In verse 10, we find that Barak called together the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali in Kedesh (the present Kedes), a town situated on a line with the northern point of the Bahr-el-Houleh, and in the mountains, at a short distance to the westward of the lake. Such being the case, it is rather difficult to conceive how the battle took

place at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.* From the day of that battle, "the hand of the children of Israel prospered, and prevailed against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan." Josephus relates the same fact,† and tells us that Jabin, on issuing from the city of Hazor (situated on the Semechonite lake), was at the head of an army of three hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and three thousand chariots. (Οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀσωρου πόλεως ὁρμώμενος αὕτη δ' ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης, κ. τ. λ.) After the defeat and death of Sisera, Barak marched against Hazor. Jabin, hastening to meet the enemy, was killed; and after his death, his capital was completely razed (καθελὼν εἰς ἔδαφως τὴν πόλιν.)‡ From the comparison of these passages, it clearly results that the *upper waters* and the Semechonite lake are identically the same.

Josephus applies to this lake indifferently the names of Semechonite, or Samachonite, or of the Semachonites! § Two etymologies have been proposed for this word. Some have thought that it was derived from the Arabic, Samak, meaning a fish; in which case the name of lake of the Semachonites would mean, lake of the fishermen. Others observing that Samaka means, *to be in a high place, in a high situation*, have merely seen in the name in question the plain and simple translation of the Hebraïc noun Meroum. I cannot venture to decide between these two hypotheses equally admissible, although I should prefer the second,

* Judges, v. 19.
† Ant. Jud. V. v. 1, et seq.
‡ Ant. Jud. V. vi. 4.
§ Bel. Jud. IV. i. 1.

on account of the muddy nature of the borders of this lake, which must have always made its approaches difficult of access. The only name it bears at the present day is that of Bahr-el-Houleh.

Josephus also tells us that the city of Seleucia was situated on the borders of the Semachonite lake, and that the marshes surrounding that lake extended as far as the region of Daphne. The following is the passage containing this valuable information:—"Seleucia was situated near the lake of the Semechonites," Σελεύκεια δέ πρὸς τῇ Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνῃ, (πρὸς may be indifferently translated by near, or in front of). This muddy lake extends its marshes as far as the country of Daphne, a delightful and fertile district, containing springs, which, increasing the water-course, called the little Jordan, below the temple of the Golden Calf, cause it to flow into the larger stream." * Has this name of *Daphne* been correctly written? Reland was of opinion that it was a mistake, and he proposed to change it into that of Dan. I fully adopt this substitution, which seems to me quite indispensable.

Let us now resume our Itinerary. As soon as we begin climbing the side of the green hills that close to the southward the valley of Lake Semachonitis, we find their summit crowned by immense ruins of buildings, constructed of large blocks of lava. The traces of an enclosure are perceptible; fragments of walls are still standing; and on several points appear also some of those long avenues of stones placed on end, which I had already seen in the land of Moab and of Canâan.

* Bel. Jud. IV. i. 1.

These ruins continue to show themselves to an almost endless extent. The high hills, along which we are marching, cease suddenly to stretch from west to east, and incline northward; they then constitute the left flank of a large valley, or rather they command an uneven plain, through which we proceed in the direction of Banias. The range of hills to the north resembles that facing the Bahr-el-Houleh, crowned at the top by enormous ruins, reaching out of sight. Even the very plain which we cross, after having left the declivities of the hills crowned with ruins, is literally covered with enormous blocks of lava, which cease to exhibit any tokens of human workmanship.

Again, on this occasion, the Abbé, who hears me constantly repeating to him:—"These stones are the ruins of a city, which must have been a world in itself," shrugs his shoulders, laughs at me, and tells me that I am mad. "There never can have been in this country a city of such extent! Besides, the nature of the blocks betrays their origin. We are travelling over volcanic ground, and these blocks have been thrown there by ante-historical eruptions. Therein lies the secret of this gigantic accumulation of stones, covering spaces of such prodigious extent." Thus argues the Abbé; I am furious at finding so obstinate an opponent, and am beginning to despair of ever converting him, though my own conviction remains unshaken. Again, my good star comes to my assistance, as had formerly been the case with regard to Gomorrah. I fancy that I descry, about a hundred yards off, to the left of the road, and towards the summit of a hillock, something that

looks very like a portion of cyclopean wall, of the most remote antiquity. I push forward in that direction, and find I was not mistaken. I utter a shout of triumph; and calling the Abbé, alight from my horse. The Abbé draws near, examines what I point out to him with my finger without uttering a word, and remains silent with astonishment. But then, as is his invariable custom, he surrenders to conclusive evidence without the least reserve.

I do not believe the world can produce a scholar who seeks for truth more honestly than the Abbé Michon; and who yields more frankly when any given point he has before denied is clearly demonstrated to him as a positive fact. "This is the most interesting discovery of our whole journey," was his immediate expression; "you must have been endowed with witchcraft to have distinguished ruins in these accumulated blocks, which I should have travelled through a hundred times, without dreaming of looking for the remains of a city." "Now, my dear friend," replied I, "this is no time for argument; what we have to do at present, is to take a plan of this monument; when our survey is complete, we will then endeavour to ascertain what city this has actually been."

I order the whole party to alight, and announce that, as I have at least an hour's work before me on this spot, it would be advisable to breakfast here. Whilst I am taking measurements and sketches with the Abbé; Edward, Philippe, and Papigny, search for insects under such of the stones strewing the ground as they are able to turn over. From under the very first, an exceedingly

venomous serpent, (which the Arabs of a neighbouring village, who had come out in crowds to gaze on us, named to me by the strange appellation of Abou-Mezrak, father javelin), made a spring to escape between their legs, but received a blow from a *courbash* that broke its back. The same adventure occurred with the second and third stone. These three experiments satisfied our naturalists, who felt no inclination to pursue their discoveries further. In summer it must be extremely dangerous to ramble about these ruins, which appear to have become the exclusive domain of poisonous reptiles.

I subjoin the principal measurements of the building we surveyed. It is not a regular square, though pretty correctly disposed with regard to the compass, each face being about sixty yards in extent. At the four angles are square projections, each measuring from six to seven yards on every side, but jutting out only three feet beyond the outward faces of the walls. These walls are six feet thick, and are formed of enormous unhewn blocks, connected by smaller blocks, equally unhewn, built into the irregular open spaces left by the inequalities of the larger masses. In the centre of each of the longer faces are other projections, resembling those of the angles as to outward appearance, and likewise jutting out three feet, and eighteen feet in length, but the portions completing them into square closed towers, are wanting towards the interior, as also in the angular towers. A series of walls *inside* this inclosure merely show their foundations in rear of the eastern and western faces. Outside this western face,

the principal building is connected with other foundations of walls, presenting strange outlines, which a mere description could never satisfactorily explain, and can only be rendered intelligible by an inspection of the plan. At a short distance, not exceeding one hundred yards, in front of the western face of the khan, is an irregular polygonal inclosure of Cyclopean construction resembling that of the temple, but composed of smaller materials. We were immediately struck with the remarkable analogy between this arrangement and that of the temple of Mount Gerizim, and of the platform of the sacrifices. Is this resemblance entirely accidental? I believe not.

I have no hesitation in considering this ruin as that of a religious building, belonging to the remotest antiquity. The Arabs of the village situated to the eastward of this monument, in a kind of hollow planted with small trees, call the ruin by the name of El-Khan, a word which signifies, throughout all eastern conntries, the various kinds of inns where caravans stop to pass the night. This Arab village, situated near El-Khan, the name of which I omitted to note down, is very probably the same which M. de Berton calls Ardh-ez-Zouk. But this last is the designation of a country, and not of a village. I therefore conclude that it should be called Es-Souq (the market), and not Ez-Zouk, which has quite another signification.

What enormous city can have formerly existed here, the ruins of which we have just explored, and which contained the temple we have surveyed? Most probably Hazor; a conclusion which I must now endeavour to establish.

Let us first bring under one view all that we know of Hazor, by searching the documents supplied by the Scriptures and by Josephus. We read in Joshua (xi. 1): that the King of Hazor, at the time of the arrival of the Israelites in the promised land, was called Jabin. In the second verse, it is said that he sent emissaries to the kings of the north, *and to the southward, towards Chinneroth*, to induce them to unite with him against the common enemy. The inference is then that Hazor was to the north of Chinneroth and of the Lake of Genesareth. All the kings convoked (verse 5) assembled together near the waters of Merom, or near the Semechonite lake. The coalesced army was so numerous, (verse 4), that it is compared to the sands on the sea shore; including horses and horsemen in immense quantities. Joshua, at the head of the people of Israel, attacked them near the lake, defeated and pursued them as far as the Great Zidon, to Mesrephoth-maïm, and as far as the valley of Mizpeh, to the eastward (verses 7, 8). Joshua turned back about the same time, took Hazor, and destroyed its king by the sword, for Hazor was anciently the head of all those kingdoms (verse 10). They put to the sword all the souls that were dwelling there, there was not any left to breathe; and he burnt Hazor with fire (verse 11). All the other coalesced kings had their cities taken from them; but Hazor was the only one destroyed by fire (verses 12, 13). Chapter xii contains the list of the kings conquered by Joshua, and in verse 19 we read: "The king of Hazor, one."

In the enumeration of the strong places belonging

to the tribe of Naphtali, we find again Hazor and En-hazor.*

I have extracted above the passages, concerning Jabin, king of Canâan, who reigned in Hazor, and whose army was commanded by Sisera. He had nine hundred chariots of iron, and he oppressed the Israelites during twenty years. His troops were at last defeated, near Megiddo, by Barak and Deborah, who having gathered about them, in Kedesh, ten thousand men of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, attacked Sisera, and defeated him. "The hand of the children of Israel prospered and prevailed against Jabin, the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin, king of Canaan.†" Chapter xii., verse 9, of the First Book of Samuel, mentions as follows the fact of the dominion of Jabin: "And when they (the Israelites) forgat the Lord their God, he sold them into the hands of Sisera, captain of the host of Hazor."

We read in the First Book of Kings (ix., 15), that Solomon built a city called Hazor. The following are the literal expressions of the sacred book: "And this is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer." Further on (2, xv., 29) we read again, that "in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoath, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria."

* Joshua xix. 36, 37. † Judges, iv. 1—24.

One of the prophecies of Jeremiah begins thus (xlix. 28): "Concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon shall smite. 30.—Flee, get you far off, dwell deep, O ye inhabitants of Hazor, saith the Lord; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon hath taken counsel against you . . . 31.—Arise, get you up unto the wealthy nation, that dwelleth without care, saith the Lord; which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone. 32.—And their camels shall be a booty, and the multitude of their cattle a spoil; and I will scatter into all the winds them that are in the utmost corners; and I will bring their calamity from all sides thereof, saith the Lord. 33.—And Hazor shall be a dwelling for dragons, and a desolation for ever: there shall no man abide there, nor any son of man dwell in it." Finally, in the Book of Maccabees, a plain of Azor is mentioned which was in Galilee (Πέδιον Ἀσώρ).*

Let us now look at what we learn from Josephus.† He relates the history of the defeat of Sisera (Σισάρης), captain of the hosts of Jabin, king of Hazor (Ἀσώρου). This city, says he, was situated above the Semechonite lake (αὕτη δ' ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης).‡ He had an army of three hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and three thousand war chariots. The whole was commanded by Sisera. As Josephus mentions expressly that Jabin, king of the Canâanites,

* 1 Mac. xi. 67. † Ant. Jud. V. v. 1.

‡ The learned Dr. Robertson, quoting this passage of Josephus, comments on it as follows: Josephus places that city (Hazor) on the north of the lake Semechonitis (vol. iii. p. 356). I shall not presume to give this translation of the word *ὑπέρκειται*, although it agrees exactly with my own view.

had come out from Hazor, a city situated on the Semechonite lake, there can be no possible doubt concerning the identity of the Hazor burnt by Joshua with the Hazor overthrown by Barak and Deborah.*

Josephus tells us that Solomon, after having fortified Jerusalem, constructed three cities, which might be classed amongst the strongest; these are: Hazor (Ἀσωρόν), Megiddo, and Gezara. This last was in the country of the Philistines. The king of Egypt, father-in-law of Solomon, came to besiege it, obtained possession after a long siege, exterminated the population, razed the town, and then presented it to his daughter, the wife of Solomon.† There is nothing to prove that the Hazor built by Solomon is the same as the capital of Jabin, neither is there any positive evidence that it is a different place. It is possible that Solomon, who was master of the whole of Palestine, and of all the land of Canâan, may have taken advantage of the magnificent military position of Hazor, to establish a fortress there capable of closing the valley of the Jordan, to the northward. It is also equally possible that the Solomonian town may have been rebuilt upon a position of the site of the Hazor, that was twice destroyed by Joshua and Barak. Lastly, the expedition of Tiglath-pileser, in which the Assyrians took possession of Kedesh and Hazor (Κύδισαν καὶ Ἄσωρα), is related in a few words.‡

Let us now return and group together the substantial facts which are ascertained by the comparison of these different passages. Hazor was the capital of Jabin,

* Ant. Jud. V. v. 1, 4.
† Ant. Jud. VIII. vi. 1. ‡ Ant. Jud. IX. xi. 1.

principal king of the land of Canâan. It must have been a city of immense extent, if we are to judge by the power of its monarch. Hazor was situated above (or in a commanding position with regard to) Lake Semechonitis, and on the north according to Robinson. It was burnt by Joshua, and its population was exterminated. This city, however, continued to subsist, since it is reckoned amongst the fortified places of the tribe of Naphtali, with another city named En-hazor. A long time afterwards, and during the rule of the Judges, another Jabin, king of Hazor (who was probably a descendant of the first Jabin, defeated and killed by Joshua), became again sufficiently powerful to hold the Israelites, during twenty years, under his dominion. He had a powerful army, in which were numbered nine hundred war-chariots of iron. Deborah and Barak defeated the army of Sisera in the fields of Megiddo, and the Israelites finally put an end to Jabin and his tyranny. From the biblical narrative, it appears that warriors of the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun, after having assembled at Kedesh, came and attacked Sisera, who was encamped in the conquered country, and thus fell upon his rear, intercepting his retreat towards Hazor. The holy writings say nothing of the destruction of Hazor by Barak, after the defeat of Sisera. But Josephus relates that Jabin, after his army of three hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and three thousand chariots, had been defeated by Barak, was himself attacked and killed, on his sallying from the city to meet the Israelites, and that Hazor was then completely razed. It is probable that Josephus has, unwarily, jumbled

together, in a single fact, two distinct particulars concerning a king of the name of Jabin and the city of Hazor. Indeed, we read in his book:* that on "hearing of the first conquests of Joshua, the kings who inhabited the Lebanon, and who were of the race of Canaan, prepared an expedition against the Israelites. The Canâanites of the plains, having called the Philistines to their assistance, encamped near Birotha (πρὸς Βιρώθῃ), a city of Upper Galilee, not far from Kedesa (Κεδέσης). This latter place is also under the rule of the Galileans. The whole army comprised three hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and two thousand war-chariots. Joshua, after a march of five days, arrived in presence of this formidable army, and destroyed it with the assistance of the Lord." It seems to me perfectly clear, that the exact repetition of the same numbers for the infantry and cavalry of the army of the coalesced kings, shows a confusion of facts and dates in the narrative of Josephus. I am therefore much disposed to admit, with regard to Hazor, that it was destroyed by Joshua only, and that Barak merely annihilated Jabin and his army.† Solomon constructed a fortified place called Hazor. Was it on the site of the ancient Hazor? There is no evidence to prove this. Under the reign of Pekah, king of Israel, Hazor was taken by Tiglath-pileser, with the

* Ant. Jud. V. i. 17.

† If the texts of Scripture were not so positive in placing the two king Jabins, one at the time of Joshua, and the other after the administration of the Judge Ahouad (Ehud), with an interval of at least two hundred years, I should almost be tempted to believe that it is the same event which is attributed to two different periods, and related with details peculiar to each of the two narratives to which it refers. But as the facts appear, I am far from admitting this supposition.

whole territory of Naphtali, and its inhabitants were led away into captivity to Assyria. And lastly, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, destroyed Hazor, which was unprovided with either gates or bars, according to Jeremiah, and the population of which was innumerable. A city, having neither gates nor bars, is not and cannot be the fortress built by Solomon. This fortress was more likely a citadel and a dependency of the town itself. From all these facts, it seems to result that the name of Hazor accords perfectly with the immense ruins which I discovered in the immediate vicinity of the village of Es-Souq, and surrounding the Cyclopean monument which the Rhaouarnas of Es-Souq call El-Khan. Site, extent, and character, all agree with what we learn from the Scriptures. With regard to the materials constituting what I saw of these ruins, I never can admit that they belonged to a city built by Solomon. The construction of El-Khan is certainly of a period much earlier than the origin of the kingdom of Judah. Hazor was definitively destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, and the terrible prophecy of Jeremiah has been literally accomplished: Hazor has become the abode of dragons (serpents), a solitude for ever, nobody dwells in it, and no man goes to abide there.

We have seen that the tribe of Naphtali included amongst its fenced cities En-hazor, besides Hazor. Zimmermann's map marks within a very short distance to the north-east of Kedesh, and to the westward of the mountain near the foot of which the Ayn-el-Belathat is situated, a locality called Azour. This is either the Hazor of Solomon or the En-hazor of the Book of

Joshua. But certainly it cannot be the Hazor, capital of King Jabin, the site of which I have no hesitation in recognising around the Cyclopean temple of El-Khan, and on the extensive acclivities commanding to the westward the uneven plain on which these ruins lie.

After having completed the plan of the extraordinary building we have just discovered, we hasten to breakfast, and then resume our march. This morning the weather was very uncertain; the sky, overspread with clouds, had been threatening speedy rain, for in this country the sky does not, as in Europe, assume a cloudy appearance for the mere pleasure of looking sulky; and when the clouds really show themselves, they come attended by their inseparable companion, a heavy shower. This shower has interrupted our breakfast. As we caught the first drops, we immediately raised our heads to look round for shelter; so strong is the power of habit. There was no shelter but in our caoutchouc cloaks, which we assumed with becoming resignation, and bore the rain patiently, the more so that it obligingly allowed us to conclude our frugal meal. As a compensation, the Rhaouarnas, who had no caoutchouc on their shoulders, judging probably that the mere pleasure of looking at us for some minutes longer was not worth a thorough wetting, hurried off to their huts, and delivered us from an irksome intrusion.

On our leaving El-Khan, we marched for a considerable distance through continuous ruins; then the patches (if I may use such an expression) of large unhewn blocks, became few and far distant, until they disappeared altogether. We had then passed the extreme

limit of the Cyclopean city, which I propose to consider as being the Hazor that was first burnt by Joshua, and definitively reduced by Nebuchadrezzar to the state in which we now behold it. Generally towards this limit of the ancient city, whenever we reach a well-sized mound, we may be sure beforehand, that it will be covered with these strange ruins of a city of giants. I confess that when on the spot, a thought struck me that a place constructed with materials of such enormous proportions, could only have been the abode of an extinct race, resembling that of the Anakims, the Emims, and the Rephaïms, which we find expressly mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The Abbé, who was riding by my side, went even further than I did in this supposition, such was his astonishment at the size of these marvellous remains. He had also noticed a certain fact, that wherever there were hollows, ditches, or trenches of any kind along the ground, the blocks became more numerous, and, as it were, thrown upon each other, as if they had been carried away by rushing waters. This sufficed to suggest to him the idea that the ruins we had just discovered might probably have belonged to an antediluvian city. Let me at once declare that I by no means adopt this hypothesis; on the contrary, I firmly believe that this is the ancient capital of the Canâanites; a metropolis built long before the days of Moses, and destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar. This pedigree, in my opinion, is sufficiently remote. Besides, if I find in the nature of these ruins, a reason for assigning to them, at the least, the period of Nebuchadrezzar as the final limit of their existence, I see no absolute cause for determining

the opposite limit, I mean that of their first origin which the reader may refer back as far as he please within the historical times without much chance o falling into an error. It will be readily conceived tha our discovery produced on the whole party a grea excitement. We felt rejoiced this morning that we had passed the night in a swamp, considering how we had been rewarded. For myself, had it not been for a little false pride, I should have thanked Matteo for the idea he had assumed of acting the character of master, and of choosing according to his own fancy the Itinerary which we were to follow on our leaving Safed.

After about half-an-hour's march, we find ourselves in the Ouad-Hasbayah, a steep, volcanic ravine, but the bottom and the sides of which, wherever there happens to be a little earth, present an extraordinary power of vegetation. This ravine forms the bed of a large river, the Nahr-Hasbayah, which we cross on a tolerably fine bridge of three pointed arches, called Djesr-el-Rhadjar.

M. de Berton, who tracked this stream from its source, observes that it is much more considerable than those which issue from the Tell-el-Qadhi, and at Banias, and which have especially received the venerable name of Jordan: that consequently the Nahr-Hasbayah is really entitled to that appellation, in preference to the others, and that it would be simple justice to restore it accordingly. Physically speaking, M. de Berton is perfectly right, but with regard to historical classification, his demand must be absolutely rejected. In all times, the name of Jordan has been applied to the two rivulets which unite at the Tel-el-Qadhi, and the most consider-

able of which springs from the grotto of Banias. We have no right to alter a nomenclature fixed thousands of years since, and to tell fifty generations, and especially the first inhabitants of the country—"You have been wrong in giving this name to a certain river instead of another. Had we been in your place, we should have done otherwise; and we propose to alter these arrangements, and correct your mistakes." I repeat, therefore, M. de Berton is right with regard to the importance of this particular river; but when he proposes to change the ancient denominations of the tributaries of the Jordan, as well as of the Jordan itself, he is equally in the wrong.

Immediately after crossing the Djesr-el-Rhadjar, two or three zigzags take us to the summit of the ridge crowning the left flank of the ravine, at the bottom of which the Nahr-Hasbayah runs. This ridge, soaked by the rains, is at first exceedingly muddy, but the soil soon becomes firmer, and we find ourselves again in the midst of ruins composed of large unhewn blocks scattered promiscuously on the ground. These ruins, although very considerable, seem small, in comparison with the gigantic vestiges of Hazor, which we have just left. To what ancient city did they belong? We shall discuss this point a little further on, when we arrive at Banias, and shall endeavour to connect with this locality, the different ruins existing between the ouad of the Nahr-Hasbayah and Banias itself.

M. de Berton, who travelled over this ground, and measured it according to his horse's pace, reckons, from the border of the ravine, at the spot where it is inter-

sected by the Djesr-el-Rhadjar, twelve hundred and sixty yards up to an ouad, which he calls the Ouad-el-Djila, "receiving its name," says he, "from the abundance of rose-laurel trees growing there. This ouad, both from its name and situation, seems to me to correspond with the site of the city of Daphne, mentioned by Josephus. Then comes a space covered with black stones (a mixture of sand and iron), extending about two thousand yards, after which you arrive at the Tel-el-Qadhi, where ruins are to be seen which are perhaps the remains of the Golden Calf. This Tel is a small oblong hillock, covered with fine oaks, in the midst of which is an abundant spring, known to the Arabs under the name of Neba-el-Leddan, and considered by some geographers as the source of the Jordan. The distance between the Tel-el-Qadhi and Banias is four thousand one hundred and sixty yards."

Having given an analysis of the valuable and exact Itinerary of M. de Berton, I hasten to return to my own. On approaching the Tel-el-Qadhi, you cross a water-course encumbered with reeds and aquatic plants, beyond which you pass along the side of a considerable mound, the flanks of which, to the height of about a dozen yards, are covered with pretty copse-wood. In the midst of this are to be seen shrubs bearing a flower resembling that of the orange tree, and at the top of the mound some fine oaks are planted. Here and there large stones peep through the brambles, which evidently never could have been found on ground like this, and must have been transported hither by human labour. The mound itself is so regularly shaped, that I am strongly inclined

to pronounce it artificial; indeed it sensibly assumes the outline of a parallelogram. I regret exceedingly, not having been able to explore the surface with sufficient care. Most probably I should have perceived traces and ruins of greater extent than those which have been noticed up to the present day. Besides there was in this place an important spring to be examined: but it was already growing late, the weather was rainy, and under such circumstances travellers in any country are inclined to hurry. This is consequently an almost unknown locality, the examination of which I recommend to future explorers, as being likely to produce interesting discoveries.

As soon as you clear the Tel-el-Qadhi, you cross a tolerably extensive plain, planted with fine trees. It becomes refreshing to look on this woody country, the nature of which contrasts so strongly with that of all the southern regions of Syria. You might think yourself, in reality, thousands of miles away from the deserts of Canâan. Beyond this lovely plain you enter the mountain on the side of which is Banias, or rather you commence ascending the first acclivities of the Djebel-ech-Cheikh, or Anti-Libanus. Nothing can be greener and more graceful that the road you are following, which resembles a fine avenue in a park.

We soon gain the summit of a first hill, pleasantly wooded, and in the midst of the trees, we descry ruins and broken shafts of columns lying on the ground. These ruins are called Enkeil—their appearance at once proclaim their origin: they represent most certainly a Greco-Roman locality. Besides Enkeil is so near Banias, that it was most probably a portion of that city itself.

After this, we descend a little and arrive at last at Banias, a miserably small Arab village, the ground of which is everywhere strewed with ruins and relics of the Roman period. A magnificent watercourse runs across the village, or rather by the side of it to the westward. Two small ancient bridges span this rivulet, which passes between quays, the walls of which are ancient also, but in a very damaged state. This rivulet is the same which flows from the Grotto of Pan, and is in fact the veritable Jordan.

After having forded the rivulet (scarcely two feet deep), we alight on a kind of small square, surrounded with houses, one of which, situated to the southward, affords us a shelter. It is a barn, the floor of which is a little lower than the ground, and will serve us for a single day as drawing-room, dining-room, and bed-room. Around us, in every direction, magnificent trees incline over the houses, and convey the aspect of a European village.

My first object was to run to the Grotto of Pan. The approach is rather difficult, through garden enclosures, orchards, and heaps of cow-dung intercepting the path. Some huts of fellahs are leaning against the rock into which this natural grotto is pierced. Hence issues, bubbling up, an abundant spring, which immediately forms the large rivulet of Banias. The inner extremity of the grotto has fallen in, in consequence of an earthquake (probably that of the 1st January, 1837), and it is impossible to go down into it without encountering the risk of sinking up to your middle in manure. On the outward walls of the grotto are, or I should rather say

were, engraved some fine votive inscriptions, which sufficiently establish the fact that this is really the grotto of the sylvan deity. Elegantly carved niches surmount these inscriptions, and they have probably been intended to receive some small statues consecrated to Pan and the nymphs of the place.

After having copied all that is still legible of these valuable inscriptions, (which, unfortunately, seem to have been purposely battered with a hammer at some very remote period, probably as far back as the introduction of Christianity into this country) we return home with our booty. In the same square where we have taken up our abode, stands the house of the Scheikh, commanding all the other houses, and built on very ancient foundations; for the stones forming the outward coating of these foundations are huge blocks standing out in bossage, exactly resembling those constituting in Jerusalem the mode of arrangement to which I applied, by way of abbreviation, the name of Solomonian construction.

The rain has commenced in earnest, and falls so heavily, that it oozes through the terrace which serves as ceiling to our habitation;* it wets us even upon our beds, where we had hastened to stretch ourselves, immediately after our day's work was over.

After dinner we received the visit of the Scheikh of Banias, a man of about forty years of age, and perfectly

* As soon as the rain begins falling in this country, every body climbs to the terrace of his house, and begins to beat it down with a large stone roller, as the preceding drought is sure to have occasioned chinks. Nothing is more ludicrous than this precaution of getting thoroughly soaked to avoid being wet.

polite, with whom I had much pleasure in conversing for an hour, whilst taking our coffee and smoking our tchibouks. He is far superior in intelligence and good breeding to any one I have met with up to this moment in Syria. He has the most ardent curiosity respecting France, and inundates me with questions, which I answer readily, and with much satisfaction.

Let us now examine Banias and its neighbourhood with regard to geographical and historical information. We must search both sacred and prophane documents concerning Dan, Paneas, and Daphne, to extract from them, if possible, sufficient indications to determine the position of each of these localities. Let us begin by Dan.

This city bore a different name before falling into the hands of the sons of Dan. The following extracts comprise what we learn on the subject from the Holy Scriptures:—"And the coast of the children of Dan went out too little for them: therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan, their father."* This verse appears to be an interpolation, posterior to the time of Joshua and of the division of the territory amongst the tribes, since the fact itself only took place under the rule of the Judges.† The children of Dan, ill-pleased with the possessions which had devolved to them by lot, sent five spies to reconnoitre the surrounding country, and to look for a better region, that they might take possession

* Joshua, xix. 47. † Judges, xviii.

ot it. These spies came to Laish, and saw a country and a people in perfect security, like the Zidonians; quiet, living without fear or trouble, under an hereditary authority, situated far from the Zidonians, and having no business with any man. (Verse 7.) The spies returned in haste to their tribe, and urged their brethren to march to the conquest of Laish. "Ye shall come unto a people secure," said they, "and to a large land; for God hath given it into your hands; a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth." (Verse 10.) Six hundred armed men of the tribe went forth to conquer Laish. (Verse 11.) When they arrived there, they fell upon a peaceful, unsuspecting people, put the inhabitants to the sword, and burnt the city with fire. (Verse 27). "And there was no deliverer (to come to her rescue) because it was far from Zidon; and they had no business with any man; and it was in the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob. And they (the children of Dan) built a city and dwelt therein. (Verse 28.) And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan, their father, who was born unto Israel; howbeit the name of the city was Laish at the first." (Verse 29.)

This fact is then perfectly well established: up to the time of the Judges, Dan was called Laish or Leshem. Let us observe, however, that when Abraham pursued the kings who had attacked the Pentapolis, and made a prisoner of Lot, he followed them as far as Dan.* It is probable that in this passage, the text of Moses has been altered in after-times, the name of Dan having been inserted instead of that of Laish, for the purpose

* Genesis, xiv. 14.

of making the narrative appear clearer and more intelligible.

Dan was at the northern extremity of the promised land; for we read in Deuteronomy, (xxxiv.): "And I, the Lord, showed him (Moses) all the land of Gilead unto Dan." We must necessarily repeat here the observation concerning this passage, that we have made relative to the verse of Genesis, with regard to the anticipated use of the name of Dan. This situation of Dan at the northern extremity of the promised land, is proved likewise by many other biblical passages.*

When the schism of the ten tribes had been accomplished, after the death of Solomon, Jeroboam, king of Israel, desired to separate his subjects from those of the king of Judah.† "Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, (the Israelites) It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Beth-el, and the other put he in Dan. And this thing became a sin; for the people went up to worship before the one, even unto Dan." ‡

At the instigation of Asa, king of Judah, Ben-hadad king of Syria declared war against Baasha, king of Israel. His army consequently invaded the territories

* Samuel, iii. 10—xvii. 11—xxiv. 2, 15; 1 Kings, iv. 25; 1 Chron. xxi. 2; 2 Chron. xxx. 5.

† 1 Kings, xii. 28—30.

‡ This golden calf placed in the city of Dan is again mentioned in 2 Kings x. 29. The prophet Amos evidently alludes to it, when he says (viii. 14): "They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy God, O Dan, liveth, and the manner of Beer-sheba liveth; even they shall fall, and never rise up again."

of Baasha, and took possession of Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah, and all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali.* The same fact is related in 2 Chronicles (xvi., 4), only the names of the towns taken by the army of Ben-hadad are different. They are as follows: Ijon, Dan, Abel-maim, and all the store-cities of Naphtali.

In Jeremiah we find the following passage (iv., 15): "For a voice declareth from Dan, and publisheth affliction from Mount Ephraim." This fine expression merely signifies, that from the extreme frontier comes the foreboding of the aggression threatening Jerusalem, this aggression coming from the north (Verse 6). Evidently what is meant is the invasion of the Assyrians. The same image is repeated (viii., 16) in the passage where the prophet says: "The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan. The whole land trembled at the sound of the neighing of his strong ones; for they are come, and have devoured the land, and all that is in it; the city and those that dwell therein."

These are all the documents I am aware of, supplied by the Scriptures, concerning the city of Dan. Let us now see what we can learn from Josephus.

This accurate historian relates† the expedition of the Danites to achieve the conquest of a new land. The five spies sent out to reconnoitre informed them of a fertile country, situated at one day's march from Sidon, in the great plain (κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον), near the Lebanon and the sources of the Little Jordan. The Danites went

* 1 Kings, xv. 20. † Ant. Jud., V. iii. 1.

there, and founded a city which they called Dan, from the name of the chief of their tribe.

In another passage,* Josephus relates the fact of the establishment of the golden calves made by order of Jeroboam, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ ἐν Δάνῃ, (ἡ δὲ ἐστι πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου), near the springs of the Little Jordan.

Let us now examine what Josephus tells us of the sources of the Jordan. We read in the passage concerning the expedition of Abraham in pursuit of the kings who had attacked the Pentapolis, that he came up with them at Danos, which was the name of the other source of the Jordan, περὶ Δάνον (οὕτω γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πηγή).† We read again in the Jewish war (IV. i, 1), that the swamps of the Semechonite lake extend as far as the place called Daphne (μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου), a fertile and delightful spot, where there are springs which, by increasing the Little Jordan below the temple of the Golden Calf, cause it to flow into the larger Jordan (καὶ πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἳ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσῆς βοὸς νεὼν, προσπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ).

According to Josephus, the real source of the Jordan was at the Lake Phiala, situated in the Trachonitis, at a distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from Cæsarea (Banias), to the right of, and not far from the road. The Paneïon was merely the apparent source of the river, the mouth where it disembogued, after having flowed thus far through a subterraneous canal, from the Lake Phiala, in which it originated. This Paneïon, from

* Ant. Jud., VIII. viii. 4. † Ant. Jud., I. x. 1.

which, in ancient times, the Jordan was supposed to issue, naturally a beautiful place, had been much improved by royal munificence, and Agrippa had expended large sums in its embellishment. From this grotto the apparent course of the river begins. All the details which I have introduced are faithful translations of those given by Josephus.*

The Jewish historian tells us also,† that "Herod ordered a temple of white marble, dedicated to Augustus, to be erected near the sources of the Jordan. This place is called Paneïon. There a mountain raises its summit to an immense height; whilst at the foot of it there is a dark cavern, into which opens a steep abyss, full of water, and of a depth unknown, for no sounding line has ever touched the bottom. From the grotto situated on the exterior face of the mountain, and at its very foot, gush out several abundant springs; and these, in the opinion of most persons, are the sources of the Jordan. ‡

The source of the Jordan is mentioned again by Josephus,§ in the passage where he speaks of the distribution of the portions of conquered territories allotted to the different tribes. "Naphtali," says he, "received the country as far as Mount Libanus, up to the sources of the Jordan, gushing out from the foot of this mountain."

Paneas (the modern Banias) was the name of the city situated in the vicinity of the sources of the Jordan, the same which Philip the Tetrarch increased and adorned

* Bel. Jud., III. x. 7. † Bel. Jud. I. xxi. 3.

‡ These details are repeated in nearly the same words, in his Judaic Antiquities (XV. x. 3). § Ant. Jud., V. i. 22.

when giving it the name of Cæsarea. Paneas became in this manner the Cæsarea-Philippi.* At a later period, King Agrippa the Younger, having considerably increased the importance of Cæsarea Philippi, changed the name to Neronias.†

It remains now to sum up what we learn from Josephus. The principal source of the Jordan issues from the Paneïon, or grotto of Banias. A second source of this river was called Danos. Additional sources again increase the small Jordan at a place called Daphne, below the temple of the Golden Calf, and the united streams flow into the greater Jordan. According to the text of Josephus, the greater Jordan has its source in the Paneïon, the small Jordan in the springs of Daphne. But there is evidently here an error of some copyist, which ought to be corrected. Instead of Δάφνης it is Δάνης that should be written, and the place that is meant by the author is unquestionably Dan. Indeed, the presence there of a structure, called the Temple of the Golden Calf, indicates palpably the site of Dan, where Jeroboam erected a temple in which he placed one of the two golden calves. Daphne is consequently a place to be blotted out from the catalogue of the cities of this district of Syria.

We come then to this conclusion: that Paneas, the present Banias, Cæsarea-Philippi, and Neronias, are one and the same place.‡ Dan is the ruined city which you find on the eminence beyond the Nahr-Hasbayah,

* Ant. Jud., xviii. 2; Bel. Jud., II. ix. i. † Ant. Jud., XX. ix. 4.

‡ This city was also called, during the Middle Ages, Tonopyrgos and Belinas. (See Reland, Pal., p. 919, ad vocem Panias.)

after you have passed the river on the Djesr-el-Bhadjar. Lastly, the Tel-el-Qadhi is the site of the temple where Jeroboam had placed one of his golden calves, and also the site of the temple of the Golden Calf, mentioned by Josephus. The ruins of Dan are contiguous to it, and probably the Tel-el-Qadhi was the work of man, and raised to serve as a foundation or base for the temple of Jeroboam.

Let us ascertain whether these conclusions accord with the testimonials of other ancient historians besides Josephus. I shall dispense with enumerating the passages establishing that Paneas, Cæsarea-Philippi, and Neronias are the same city, because the fact is not questioned. Philosturgius* says that Paneas first bore the name of Dan, that it was next called Cæsarea-Philippi, and lastly Paneas, on account of the statue of Pan which was placed there by the Gentiles. Theodoret† says also that Paneas and Laish are the same city. Lastly, Benjamin of Tudela repeats that Paneas is Dan. These are the authorities upon which some scholars have identified Dan with Banias.

Eusebius, in the Onomasticon, at the word Βηθσαμαιέ, speaks of Dan as being in the vicinity of Paneas; and at the word Δὰν, he says that it is a borough situated at the fourth mile from Paneas, on the road to Tyre. From Banias to the ruins situated to the westward of the Tel-el-Qadhi, the distance is about five thousand yards towards Panias, consequently there can be no doubt that these are the ruins of the biblical Dan, of which the Tel-el-Qadhi was a dependency. The ruins

* Hist. vii. 3. † Quæst. 110, in Genesim.

lying about El-Khan are twelve or thirteen thousand yards distant from Banias, it would therefore be absurd to look there for the ruins of Dan.

One word more concerning the history of Banias. When Christ came to this village, he cured there miraculously a woman who was perishing from a painful disease. This woman, in her gratitude, raised a statue to the Saviour before her house door. Julian the Apostate ordered it to be thrown down, and his own statue to be substituted in the place. The memory of the fact has been handed down to us by the Annals of Glycas and the Chronography of Théophanes.

March 6th.

Yesterday, whilst conversing with the Scheikh of Banias, I learnt that, at the gate of the town, as he called it, I should find a *Tarikh* (or date, the name usually given in this country to ancient inscriptions); I had consequently determined to run there this morning before our departure, and did so, accompanied by Edward. The weather has become tolerable again, and even promises a fine day, for the wind has changed, and the clouds are slowly dispersing, and abandon the heavens to the sun.

From a distance, the old gate appears to me of Arabian construction; when nearer, I soon become convinced that it is utterly insignificant. The fine pieces of free-stone that constitute its facings, have been borrowed from all the ancient monuments in the neighbourhood, and above the archi-volt is fixed into the wall an Arabian *Tarikh*, which I have no time to decipher,

but of which I read enough to ascertain that I see the work of a Mameluke Baharite Sultan. This gate opens upon a kind of bridge across a very rapid water-course, considerably swollen by the rains. Evidently this is again one of the principal affluents of the Jordan. To the right and left of the platform of this bridge, are laid down as parapets some very large stones, procured from the remains of Cæsarea-Philippi, or of the Neronias, by which it was replaced.

Everywhere throughout the village, and especially on the side of the canal in which the rivulet is confined, coming from the Paneïon, broken shafts of columns are perceptible, in most cases lying on the ground or in the water, but occasionally erect, and in their original places. It would be very desirable to pass a few days in Banias, to make an accurate survey of the ground and ruins. These would still supply traces sufficiently numerous, in my opinion, to render it possible to re-construct a plan of the ancient city.

To the right of the wide road, I cannot say street, which leads from Banias to the bridge, and to the Arab gate opening upon this bridge, there are to be seen five large arches of Greco-Roman construction. These arches are of handsome workmanship, and buried nearly up to the beginning of the archi-volts; which moreover are merely indicated, for they form a solid wall, answering the purpose of a foundation to the modern one.

I repeat again, the site of Banias promises valuable discoveries to any explorer who may have time for his operations. The inhabitants are mild and inoffensive, and for a remuneration of a thousand francs, I am

confident they would undertake to turn up the whole of the circumjacent soil.

As soon as we had returned from our early stroll, we breakfasted in haste, got our luggage loaded and our horses saddled, and proceeded on the road to Damascus. This road, for several hours after having left Banias, crosses a delightful country. It begins from the bridge we had visited in the morning. There it turns eastward, and extends to the right, along the bed of the water-course, coming from the most distant source of the Jordan, and to the left, in the immediate vicinity of Banias, along meadows planted with tall trees, under which we have again met the Scheick, to whom we have thus had an opportunity of bidding farewell. The rivulet runs along the bottom of a small, green, well-wooded valley, extending more than a league to the eastward of Banias. We end by leaving the edge of the ravine, and then move a little to the northward, so as to wind round the foot of the mountain, on the top of which stands the imposing citadel, called Qalâat-Banias. This is a ruined fortress which, from a distance, seems to belong to the period of the Crusades. The mountain, the summit of which it crowns, is very high and verdant. Towards the summit, the grass alone gives it this colour, for the trees cease to appear on its sides, at about two-thirds of the height. The inhabitants of Banias assured us that the citadel (Qalâat) has been built with the ancient remains of the town, and that several *Tarikhs* are to be observed on its walls. The fact is extremely possible; but is there a single ancient inscription amongst the number? I cannot say, and did not tarry to inquire.

Since we have begun winding round the base of the mountain, crowned by the Qalâat-Banias, the road has become rather difficult. It ascends rapidly, and is wet and marshy, owing to the recent rains. The trees covered with dew, are constantly sprinkling us; lastly, the temperature is becoming cold, and in proportion as we ascend, we recognise, by very disagreeable signs, that we are approaching the region of perpetual snows. We pass by the side of a spring, the name of which I cannot procure from my guides, but I find it indicated in Zimmermann's map under the title of Ayn-el-Hazoury. I must content myself with pointing out the remarkable analogy between this name and that of the En-hazor, enumerated in the book of Joshua amongst the fortified cities of the tribe of Naphtali. Was the ground where we are a part of the territory of Naphtali? Are there in the neighbourhood of this spring any ruins to which the biblical name is applicable? As I neglected to examine those points on the spot, I cannot possibly presume to say, but I recommend the subject to the researches of future travellers.

Whilst we are toiling up the ascent, I discover that my poor horse is quite exhausted. The fatigue he seems to be labouring under is not natural. Surely he is ill, and I am not disposed to travel on foot. I therefore desire Matteo to give me his charger, and to select another for himself from amongst the luggage animals. After this exchange I find that I have made an excellent bargain. Matteo had named his horse El-Bapour (*Il-vapore*, the steam-engine), and he was right; for I find myself mounted on a fiery little creature, which I am

obliged to sooth rather than to stimulate. Saïd leads my horse by the bridle, and we proceed on our march.

After having, at a depth of several hundred yards below the fortress, travelled along the eastern face of the Qalâat-Banias, and having passed, as I have already said, near the Ayn-el-Hazoury, and left at some distance off on our right an eminence, on the flank of which is situated the village called Djebbata-ez-Zeit; * we reach at last the level of a tolerably fine plain, called Merdj-el-Afoureh, extending from west to east. To our left, immediately commence the somewhat steep acclivities of the Djebel-es-Scheikh, a magnificent summit of the Anti-Libanus, of which we have so often descried from a vast distance, the dazzling snow-white crest. The snows begin at a height of three or four hundred yards above the spot where we halt for breakfast, and continue to show themselves without interruption, up to the highest peak of the mountain. Before us opens, to the eastward, the Merdj-el-Afoureh, at the extremity of which, in the far distance, we descry the buildings of a mill, called Tahouahia-es-Sahar, from the name of the Ouad-es-Sahar, along the bottom of which a large rivulet runs, swollen just now by the rains of the season. By this rivulet the mill is set in motion. To the right of the mill, a little to the southward, is an extensive pool, which we descry from a distance; the Lake Phiala, mentioned by Josephus, when speaking of the sources

* Might not this Djebbata happen to be the same as that of the Talmudists, between which place and Antipatris they pretended to find sixty myriads of cities! (See Reland, pp. 801-2. ad vocem Gebath.)

of the Jordan.* Lastly, on the flank of the Djebel-ech-Cheikh, in front of and to the westward of the Ouad-es-Sahar, is the village called Medjel-ech-Chems, which might perhaps be identified with the Beth-shemesh of the tribe of Naphtali.†

After a very short halt, on account of the extreme cold, and piercing wind which was continually facing us, we resumed our journey in a north-north-easterly direction. We climbed up another difficult and very long ascent, which led us to a defile full of rubbish, the materials of which, of rather small dimensions, are entirely fragments of lava. These ruins have no established name, that either Mohammed or Matteo were acquainted with. The valley containing them issues into a small plain, the soil of which is generally volcanic, whilst the surface is covered with small pools. This plain is called Merdjet-Haderab (?), the inclined or the low plain. I am told that in summer this place is exclusively appropriated to the cultivation of melons. The plain is strewed with a considerable quantity of insignificant ruins, being probably the fragments of inclosures, intended to divide the cultivated portions belonging to different owners.

To the northward, this small plain is limited by a hill of no great height, entirely volcanic, and covered

* It has often been asserted that the name Jordan was formed of the two words, Yor and Dan, its two principal sources. Josephus himself allows us to suppose that he adopted this opinion, since he gives the name of Danos to one of the two sources of the smaller Jordan. Would it not be more natural, however, to derive this name from the words יורד דן River of Dan? I am much inclined to think so, although this is not Reland's opinion. One thing certain is, that the Arabs pronounce the name of this river, Ordan, which comes very near Jordan.

† Joshua, xix. 38.

with bushes and brambles. After a tolerably long march over this ground, during which we are persecuted by a freezing wind, we reach the head of a wide valley, the eastern flank of which we follow, during several minutes, until it leads us to a very deep, abrupt, and difficult ravine, which, as regards the pleasure of the descent, reminds us forcibly of Ayn-Djedy. By leaping successively from rock to rock, during a quarter of an hour, we find ourselves at last on a lower edge of no great breadth, inclining westward, and the site of a considerable village, called Beit-Djenn. Above the village, the snow appears in all directions, and covers the summit to a height of about a thousand yards. A wide rivulet, in all probability supplied with water by the melting snows, runs through the extent of Beit-Djenn, and then turns suddenly round at the eastern point of this village, to enter the valley through which the Damascus road passes, after having left Biet-Djenn.

As soon as we had reached the valley ending in the dangerous descent I have mentioned, we were protected against the wind; on our arrival at the village, we contrived to warm ourselves a little in the sun, which shone forth magnificently; but we are too near the snow, not to find the cold disagreeably piercing. Above Beit-Djenn, and in the flank of the rock, against which that portion of the village rests, lying on the right bank of the rivulet, we descry the openings of excavations, which are, evidently, ancient sepulchral grottoes.

Not to lose the remainder of the day, Edward, Philippe, and I, proceed to search for insects and plants, by the edge of the rivulet, and in the overhanging rocks

that form the left flank of the valley, by which we shall proceed tomorrow, in the direction of Damascus. The water of the rivulet is merely melted snow; nevertheless, I found some small hydrocanthari (coleoptera, of the genus *Colymbetes*), which had taken refuge under the half submerged stones. Some insignificant plants are our only compensation for the trouble we have taken; but one of these, a microscopic pansy, extremely pretty, grows in sufficient abundance amongst the rocks, to enable me to make an ample provision.

As we arrived at Beit-Djenn from one direction, a detachment of Arnauts, on their way to Banias, were entering the village from another. The consequence was, that we had some trouble in procuring accommodation for our caravan. The whole village is in a bustle, and I believe the population is not over pleased at the arrival of these troublesome visitors, who take possession of houses without ceremony, as if they were in a conquered land.

March 7th.

Our evening passed over quietly enough, and without any incident worthy of notice. Not so the night; for the usual vermin plagued us incessantly. This morning the weather continues clear, but less cold than yesterday. But now the remainder of our journey is down-hill, and in proportion as we diminish the ground, we shall increase our distance from the snows, and find a milder climate.

Whilst we are preparing for our departure, the detachment of Arnauts follows our example, but in a very

irregular manner. For more than an hour the commander of the troop has been on horse-back, flanked by two beyrakdars (standard-bearers), carrying, one, the red national banner of the Turks, the other, a green flag, which is their religious standard. A foot-soldier, with two small kettle-drums attached to his waist, vainly strikes up every possible march, to assemble the warriors, whose captain is thus waiting patiently. He might as well have been whistling. The troop, established on the terraces of the houses where they have lodged, are firing away, not at sparrows, but at the pigeons of the inhabitants, and keep up a continual rolling of musketry. If this, as it seems very probable, is the war-ammunition supplied by the Turkish government to their soldiers, and which these gentlemen are expending in such a reckless manner, it is clear that, by the time they depart, their cartridge-boxes will be empty. But the pigeons are not exposed to much danger. The balls appear to be quite harmless. The reports frighten the birds a little, but not one of them falls; and if the Arnauts have reckoned upon their morning's sport to supply their evening repast, they are likely to go to bed supperless. At last, the captain, tired of waiting for his gallant warriors, starts off by himself, preceded by his drummer, and followed by his two beyrakdars. The main body will join the head of the column whenever it suits their convenience.

As our own troop is somewhat better disciplined, we contrive to march with the Ottoman advanced guard, but in precisely the opposite direction. We had lost

sight of Beit-Djenn, behind the rocks that shelter the village, before the war against the pigeons had come to a conclusion. My poor horse, whom I supposed yesterday to be slightly indisposed, died during the night, and this morning I saw him, a sad object, stretched by the side of the rivulet, in the middle of the village. He will remain there until devoured by birds of prey and the jackalls. Why should I not say, that the sight of this poor dead creature, on whose back I had travelled during so many days, through much fatigue and danger, caused me a pang of sorrow? I felt, at this moment, the Arab's attachment for his charger. This poor horse was to me like a perfect chronometer, and I am indebted to his gentleness and patience for having been able to draw, with sufficient exactness, the general survey of the new lands I have explored.

The valley we enter, on leaving Beit-Djenn, has still a wintry look; the vegetation is by no means advanced, and resembles that of the north of France, at the same season. We are marching in the direction of Kafr-Haouar, a village which I have the greatest impatience to reach. Zimmermann's map marks, by the side of this village, a spot, bearing the name of "Nimroud's tomb." Shall I find there an Assyrian monument? I cannot say; but I have some hopes of making an interesting discovery, and enjoy it by anticipation. Alas! I was right not to postpone my satisfaction until I had seen this tomb of Nimroud. After two good hours' march, we descry at last Kafr-Haouar; my eyes search the surrounding landscape; and as I happen to

perceive, on a hill behind the village, a kind of square building which does not look like an ordinary Arab's house, I say to myself, "there is, no doubt, concealed the tomb of Nimroud." Hereupon my guides, who have entered into conversation with some of the inhabitants of the village, busy at their work, suddenly desire me to stop before two large square blocks taken from some ancient structure, and thrown at random in the middle of a field, three or four hundred yards distant from the village, and tell me: "This is the Qobr-Nimroud." At first I refuse to believe them, and myself question the husbandmen, who are all unanimous in assuring me this is really the Qobr-Nimroud! A lamentable fall from my towering hopes! "But then," I say to them, "what is that building yonder?" And I point to the structure upon which I had founded my dearest expectations. "That?" they answer, "that is merely a barn."—"The deuce take you with your barn!" I mutter contemptuously, and ride off, vociferating against Nimroud and Kafr-Haouar, and not forgetting Zimmermann, who had led me into this archæological disappointment. In truth, the presiding genius of antiquarians owed me some compensation, which was soon bestowed. As I approached the village, while passing over the distance that divides it from the Qobr-Nimroud, I looked, with increasing interest, on a regular white mass, rising above, and situated in the midst of the houses. Arriving in front of this, I recognise a magnificent stylobate (pedestal), of Grecian architecture, and no longer think of Nimroud's tomb, but give my entire attention to the venerable fragment now before me.

Instead of an Assyrian monument, I must now describe a handsome specimen, hitherto unnoticed, of more recent art, I confess, but of an art equally estimable.

I direct the whole caravan to alight, announcing that we are to breakfast at Kafr-Haour, after I have taken the sketches I require, and then proceed to work without a moment's delay.

This stylobate is entirely constructed of white marble, and still supports the base of a column in its original position. Its principal dimensions are as follow: the cornice is twenty inches high, and projects sixteen inches over the dado.—The dado is three feet four inches high, and the inferior moulding, different from the profile of the cornice, is two feet high. The lower dado, upon which this moulding rests, projects nearly a foot beyond the last plat-band. It is probably buried to a certain depth, yet has still at least three feet of elevation above the ground. This gives a total distance of nearly four feet and a half between the ground, as it is at present, and the lower part of the pedestal of the columns. The shaft of these columns is two feet two inches in diameter.

Whilst I was taking these measurements, the Abbé, with his usual mania for examining every thing, (a very happy mania in this instance,) discovers on the side-post of a door, belonging to a wretched hut, resting against the anterior part of the ruin, a fragment of a mutilated Greek inscription. An additional piece of good fortune, and this discovery is the more precious, as it throws an unexpected light on the nature of the monument we

have just discovered. The inscription, correctly copied, runs as follows :—

ΟΥΚΙΟCΑΚ
ΒΑΙΟΥЄΥCЄΒΟ
ΚΑΙΠЄΛΛΦΘЄΙ
ΥΠΟΤΗCΚΥΡΙΑ
ΤΑΡΓΑΤΗ

This inscription evidently refers to the Syrian goddess, Atargatis (Venus), whose mutilated name is written in the last line. The monument was then most likely a temple dedicated to Atargatis. If we are to judge from the style of its mouldings, and from that of the characters composing the inscription, the latter must be considerably later than the temple itself, which appears to belong to the era of the Seleucidæ. The inscription, probably, applies to some object placed under the protection of the goddess Atargaté, (and not Atargatis, for we find her name properly spelt here), by an inhabitant of the country where she was worshipped. The dedicator is Lucius, son of Ak . . . bæus, the pious and spotless. I am indebted to my learned friend and fellow-member, Ph. Lebas, for the correct elucidation of the third line, which ought to be read :—

ΚΑΙΑΜΕΜΦΘΟΥ

meaning—

ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΜΠΤΟΥ

A small wall, formed of blocks of stones carefully heaped upon each other, encloses a portion of ground at the western extremity of the temple. Amongst these

stones are some fine blocks of white marble, that belonged, undoubtedly, to the coping of the sacred edifice. These fragments are ornamented with fine foliage and cordons of ovolos. Such a monument, though of moderate dimensions, must have produced a beautiful effect, when it stood out in snow-white contrast, upon the plain, in the middle of which it was situated.

What ancient city has been succeeded by the modern village of Kafr-Haouar? The Itinerary of Antoninus will probably tell us. We read as follows, in the XLVIII. Itinerary :—

Iter ab Eumari Neapoli.

Damasco		
Aere	XXXII.	Millia plus minus.
Neve	XXX.	„
Capitolias	XXXVI.	„
Gadara	XVI.	„
Scythopoli	XVI.	„
In medio	X.	„
Neapoli (al. Sichem)	VII.	„

In the XLIX. Itinerary, we read again :—

Iter a Soriane Scythopoli occora.

Heliopoli		
Abila (al. Abyla)	XXXVIII.	Millia plus minus.
Damasco	XVIII.	„
Aere	XXXIII.	„
Neve	XXX.	„
Capitolias	XXXVI.	„
Gadara	XVI.	„
Scythopoli	XVI.	„

The Theodosian (called Peutinger's) table, gives us the following fragment of a route :—

Damaspo (alias Damasco) . . .		
Ad ammontem	XXVIII.	Millia plus minus.
Cesarea Paneas	XXVIII.	„
Tyro (sive Sor)	XXXII.	„

And, lastly, the road from Damascus to Jerusalem is thus indicated in the same:

Damaspo (al. Damasco) Herusalem		
Ænos	XXVII.	Millia plus minus.
Chânata (al. Canatha)	XXXVII.	„
Rhose (al. Neve)	XX.	„
Hatita (al. Haditha, sive Hadita) . .	XL.	„
Gadda	XI.	„
Philadelfia (al. Philadelphia) . . .	XIII.	„
Rhababatora (al. Rabbath Moab) .	LXII.	„
Thamaro (al. Thamara)	LXVIII.	„
Anteà dicta Herusalem nunc Helya Capitolina (al. Jerusalem, sive Ælia Capitolina) . . .	LIII.	„

As I have stated my opinion, that Kafr-Haouar has taken the place of the Aere of Antonine's Itinerary, it is absolutely necessary that I should discuss, compass in hand, the four fragments of Itinerary which I have just transcribed. Colonel Lapie (in the Itineraries, published by M. de Fortia) identifies, in the following manner, the localities designated in the Itinerary of Antoninus; the respective distances in Roman miles, measured by M. Lapie, give him: for

Damasco . .	Damascus . .			
Aere . . .	Ahaere . . .	47	instead of	30, 32 or 34.
Neve . . .	Nova . . .	30	„	30.
Capitolias . .	Beit-el-Ras . .	30	„	36.
Gadara . .	Om-Keis . .	16	„	16.
Scythopolis . .	Beysan . . .	16	„	16.

I should be strongly tempted to identify Neve, the Hebraic name of which is Nouah, with the locality called Nowa (in Zimmermann's map); but we shall speedily see that the numbers given for the distances make this identification impossible. From Beysan to Om-Keis (these two places are certainly Scythopolis and Gadara)

the distance is very nearly sixteen Roman miles. From Gadara to Capitolias, the distance was also sixteen miles; consequently, we must find this second city at about the same distance from Gadara as that between Om-Keis and Beysan. Zimmermann's map places Capitolias without any other indication, and unaccompanied by any doubtful mark, to the eastward by some degrees north of Om-Keis, and at a distance of about twenty Roman miles. From Capitolias to Neve, the distance was thirty-six miles. Zimmermann's Capitolias is not more than twelve miles distant from Nowa. Consequently, if one of these two cities is correctly laid down, the other cannot be so.

M. Lapie, from Om-Keis, where the road from Beysan has ascended straight to the north-east, describes this road as going down again to Beit-Aras, which he calls Beit-er-Ras, to the eastward by some degrees south of Om-Keis, and sixteen miles distant from this last town. But from Beit-Aras to Nowa, the distance, in a straight line, is only between twenty-four and twenty-five Roman miles, whilst by the calculation of M. Lapie, there ought to be thirty. From Neve to Aere, the distance was thirty miles. From Nowa to El-Harah, the distance, in a straight line, is only fifteen miles. This second identification is, therefore, again inadmissible. From Aere to Damascus, the distance was thirty miles; from El-Harah to Damascus, Lapie is compelled to find forty-seven miles. Here is again another proof that Aere cannot be identified with El-Harah.

Let us see now, if it is possible, to propose other identifications more probable and admissible. To begin by

Capitolias. In Peutinger's table (Itinerary from Cæsarea to Philadelphia) this city is placed between Gadara (Om-Keis) and Adrâa, after which comes Bostra, and the distances measured between these places are as follows :—

Gadara		
Capitolias	XVI.	Millia plus minus.
Adraha (al. Adraa sive Edrei) . .	XVI.	„
Bostris	XXIV.	„

This makes in all fifty-six miles between Gadara and Bostris, whilst, in reality, there is, in a straight line, between Om-Keis and Bostra, a distance of seventy-eight Roman miles at the least. The numbers given in the table are consequently incorrect. Now, if we were to place Capitolias, according to Col. Lapie's Itinerary, at Beit-er-Ras, and concluding El-Mezareib to be Adrâa, which is very improbable, (since there is, in reality, at a distance of about ten miles to the eastward, by some degrees south of El-Mezareib, a locality which is still called Drâa,) there would still be, in a straight line, twenty-three miles from Beit-er-Ras to El-Mezareib, and thirty-three miles from the same place to Drâa. If, on the contrary, we accept the position assigned by Zimmermann to Capitolias, there are only fourteen miles from Capitolias to El-Mezareib, and at least twenty-four miles from Capitolias to Drâa. Let us observe, also, that the three cities of Gadara, Capitolias, and Adrâa, happen thus to be situated in a straight line, and that Capitolias is almost exactly equidistant from the two others; thus agreeing perfectly, with regard to the proportion between the numbers, with what we find in

Peutinger's table. Every thing, then, being well considered, the position of Capitolias, as determined by Zimmermann, seems to be satisfactory.

Let us now pass to Neve. From Capitolias to Nowa, we have only twelve Roman miles, where we ought to have thirty-six, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus. The inference is, therefore, that Neve is not at Nowa, if the relative position of that locality has been correctly laid down by Zimmermann. But, we find to the south-westward, and not far from Keneitrah, a pool called Birket-Nefah, close to which are placed the ruins of a nameless city. If we give this city the appellation of the Pool, and call it Nefah, we have again our Neve, and between this place and Capitolias, we find twenty-six miles instead of thirty-six. But then, let it be supposed that an inattentive copyist has written three x instead of two, a very possible circumstance, and Neve is positively found again.

From the ruins situated near the Birket-Nefah to Kafr-Haouar, we have, in a straight line, thirty Roman miles, and the Itinerary reckons exactly thirty miles between Neve and Aere, a first proof that Kafr-Haour is really the Aere of the Itinerary. If the reader will reflect on the importance of a locality containing such a temple as that of which the remains are still standing in Kafr-Haouar, and especially on the evident analogy between the names of Aere and Haouar, I hope he will agree with me as to the propriety of identifying Aere with Kafr-Haouar. From Aere to Damascus the Itinerary reckons xxx., xxxii., xxxiv. miles. This number is then uncertain. There is, in reality, from Kafr-Haouar to Damascus, only a little

more than twenty miles. Once more, an x too much may have been introduced in the figures expressing the distance between Aere and Damascus.

In conclusion, I formally propose to consider Kafr-Haouar as having taken the place of the Aere mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

We have seen that Peutinger's Table places between Cæsarea-Paneas (Banias) and Damascus, and at an equal distance of twenty-eight miles from each of these two cities, a locality called Ad-Ammontem. What modern place has taken the site of the earlier town? This point we must also endeavour to establish. The present road between Banias and Damascus is certainly the same as that which was followed in ancient times, for it is not in such a country as this that roads are changed without anybody knowing why. I had, at first, surmised that Beit-Djenn might perhaps be identical with the ancient locality called Ad-Ammontem. In fact, its sepulchral caves assign to Beit-Djenn a very remote antiquity. But, however, opposite Kafr-Haouar, and distant about a thousand yards to the north of this village, there is situated, on a height, a second village called Beitimah. Between the two runs a river named in Zimmermann's map (I know not upon what authority), Moiedeb-Herane; and a fine ancient bridge of two arches, in excellent preservation, for it is still used, unites both banks of that water-course. In early days bridges were constructed merely to afford a passage to public roads; consequently, over the bridge situated between Kafr-Haouar and Beitimah, an ancient public (or high) road formerly passed. What can the word Ammontem signify, pre-

ceded by the preposition Ad? Perhaps something more than *ad-montem*, on the height, which latter meaning would exactly suit Beitimah,—situated upon a height. But, at the foot of this hill, runs a river called Moiedeb-Herane. Is not the name of this river concealed in the Latin word Ammontem? I am the more disposed to think so that, although we find in the name Moiedeb the skeleton of the Latin form Ammontem, there is nothing to prove that the author from whom Zimmermann borrowed his indication of the Moiedeb-Herane, has correctly transcribed the name which he has heard pronounced. Nothing is more common, unfortunately, than examples of names having been mutilated by travellers who were not familiar with the sounds of the Arab tongue.

Let this be as it may, I have no hesitation in identifying Ad-Ammontem with Beitimah. It is possible that, after the destruction of Aere, Beitimah may have risen in the immediate vicinity of the deserted city (I have already stated that between Kafr-Haouar and Beitimah the distance is scarcely more than a thousand yards), and, at a later period again, that the ruins of Aere may have served to raise the miserable huts of Kafr-Haouar. At any rate, I know of no other locality, situated on the road from Banias to Damascus, to which the denomination of Ad-Ammontem can possibly be applied. With regard to the distances, we have, in a straight line, fifty-six Roman miles from Banias to Damascus, which measurement agrees exactly with the total of the two portions of road, of twenty-eight miles each, according to the Table, lying between Damascus and Ad-Ammontem, and between Ad-Ammontem and Cæsarea-Paneas. Instead

of being precisely in the centre of the distance, as Ad-Ammontem ought to be according to the Table, Beitimah is laid down, in Zimmermann's map, thirty-four miles from Banias, and only twenty-two from Damascus. But this indication of Zimmermann is erroneous, as I shall speedily demonstrate.

In the "Onomasticon," Eusebius and St. Jerome place a locality called Abela between Damascus and Paneas, μεταξὺ Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Πανεάσος, but I am absolutely at a loss where to find this Abela. Throughout the road which I have travelled, I have not met with a single name which can be considered as containing the slightest trace of Abela. Perhaps the ruins of this place may be those I crossed between Medjdel-ech-Chems and the small eminence called Merdjet-Haderah.

I now resume my Itinerary. After having leisurely studied the fine ruin of the Temple of Atargaté, and the inscription on the same site, we establish ourselves in a field, under some fruit-trees, to despatch our breakfast. We then mount again and proceed in the direction of Beitimah. The river I have just named presents itself in a few minutes; we cross it, upon a tolerably fine ancient bridge of two arches, and almost immediately begin climbing the gentle acclivity leading up to the eminence upon which the village of Beitimah is built.

Zimmermann's map is totally inaccurate with regard to the country comprising the villages of Beitimah and Kafr-Haouar. For example, the distance between these villages is scarcely a thousand yards, whilst on the map there is more than a league. Then again, from Beitimah

to Artouz, we marched during four consecutive hours, without stopping a single moment, and the same map scarcely allows, between these two places, more than double the distance existing between Kafr-Haouar and Beitimah. The necessary inference from thence is, that Kafr-Haouar is incorrectly laid down, and must be carried back much nearer to Beit-Djenn, thereby verifying, in a most satisfactory manner, the indications given in Peutinger's chart, where Ad-Ammontem is placed exactly half-way between Banias and Damascus. Here is an additional reason, and one that appears to me quite decisive in favour of the identification between Beitimah and the Ad-Ammontem of Peutinger.

The village of Beitimah is considerable, and the materials employed in the construction of the houses often contain some fine pieces of free-stone, which have evidently been found on the spot, and used by the Arabs. I also observed there a large broken shaft of a column, the presence of which confirms my opinion with regard to the antiquity of the place. As soon as we reach the eminence upon which Beitimah is situated, we enter a country of a sad, insipid aspect, formed of gentle, but barren undulations, exactly resembling our hilly meadows in winter. During four long hours we do nothing but ascend and descend again, without meeting a single living creature, without seeing a tree, or descrying, in the distance, a single village. This tedious road is called El-Qallabat (the invertions, the turns, the sinuosities), a name which perfectly describes its winding course. At last we reach the plain of Damascus, and passing through meadows intersected by fine streams, alight at Artouz, from

whence a three hours' march will take us to the gates of the city.

Artouz presents striking signs of its vicinity to a large town. The houses are made of stone, and are well-built in comparison with all those we have hitherto seen. The interior is clean enough, and we already observe the large estrades forming the floor of the ground-tier in the principal houses of Damascus. There is abundance of water in Artouz, and in the fine season the meadows surrounding the villages must be magnificent. Before our *Menzil* (caravanseraï, travellers' lodging-house) is a vast watering-place, supplied by a stream, which in Judæa would pass for a river. As it is still rather early, and as, notwithstanding the cold, the sun invites us to take a walk, I set out in quest of river shells and insects, but my excursion has been unproductive. With the exception of a few melanopsides, amongst which there is a variety, or even a species, which I suppose to be new, on account of the longitudinal ribs, slightly prominent, marking the whorls of its spire, I find nothing, and I return home before sunset to put my notes in order whilst waiting for dinner. As soon as we have despatched our meal, we hasten to our couches, to seek repose after a fatiguing march.

To the right, or eastward of Artouz, and at the distance of a few hundred yards, is a hill of no great height, presenting two mounds covered with two large buildings, which, from a distance, resemble the feudal castles of the middle ages, similar to those so frequently to be seen in Europe. At the foot of the first is a mill, and the more distant is built with blocks

of lava, as far as I can judge from the black colour of its walls.

March 8th.

This morning the weather is magnificent, and as we are impatient to reach Damascus, the marvels of which we already picture to ourselves in imagination, we lose no time, and commence our march at an early hour. The road lies through a fine plain, highly interesting no doubt to lovers of agriculture, but cruelly tedious for admirers of the picturesque. It is one uninterrupted series of cultivated fields, irrigated with the greatest care by myriads of canals, borrowed from large rivulets, which are sometimes small rivers. Nothing can be more uniformly flat than the plain of Damascus, viewed from this side. About three leagues in advance appears a long line of trees, planted close together, which, from a distance, would resemble a forest, were not these everywhere overtopped by numerous minarets, proclaiming the immediate presence of an immense city. This city is Damascus, the pearl of the East. To our left, the first cliffs of the Anti-Libanus limit the plain along its whole extent, and the snows are not far off. To the right, the plain stretches out for several leagues, beyond which other mountains appear of moderate height. There lies the most unfrequented desert in the world; for, on our maps, the ground situated to the eastward of Damascus is of spotless white, and not a single name of any place is thereon inscribed. The reason is, that no traveller has ever dared to venture in that direction, and all that district is to this day as seldom visited as the centre of Africa. And yet how many

discoveries would repay the enterprise of the bold explorer who should bravely venture through these dreaded regions! How many treasures he would bring back, if he contrived to return—a very unlikely contingency, I must confess.

About half an hour after having left Artouz, we have in sight, on the side of the hill a few thousand yards distant to our left, a large village surmounted by a minaret. This is Katanah. A little further on we pass by the side of Kaoukab, which looks like a village of La Beauce. Not far from that, we arrive in front of a locality called Mahdamit-ech-Cheikh, and reach Ech-Chedeydah, which we first traverse to the southward, to cross it afterwards towards its eastern extremity. The street through which we are marching is wide, and we are struck with the European appearance of this village. Outside the habitations, a number of workmen are stretching dyed silk to dry, or are manufacturing silk strings and cords, just as in our own country we see the people manufacturing hemp ropes.

On the other side of Ech-Chedeydah, the road already very broad, but not yet lined with trees, leads us to the village of El-Achrafieh; and as soon as we have crossed this place, we find a road bordered to the right by a large canal, and to the left by hedges and fine trees. There begin the pretended enchanted gardens of Damascus. These gardens are neither more nor less than orchards; that they form an extensive zone, I readily admit, but that they are anything beyond common orchards I equally deny.

At length, having passed through the hamlet of Deïr-

Rayeh, we arrive within a few minutes' walk of the walls of Damascus, and stop to breakfast under some fine trees in an orchard, situated to the right of the high road. After breakfast, we hasten to mount our horses, and after crossing a Mussulman burying-ground, the tombs of which have exactly the form of the ancient sarcophagi contained in the Qbour-el-Molouk, or Tomb of the Kings of Judah, we arrive at the Bab-Allah, or God's Gate, in the midst of a crowd of wandering Arabs and camels, halted before the wall of Damascus.

The aspect of the city, when seen from this side, has nothing very imposing, but quite the contrary. Everything seems to be built of mud and plaster, and out of repair. Until a recent period, Christians were obliged to alight whilst crossing the gate of Damascus; but such was no longer the case in 1851; and my excellent friend, M. de Ségur-Duperron, consul of France in this city, had proudly vindicated the honour of the French name. Consequently, nobody seemed to mind us, and we were allowed to enter the city with all our arms, without any one appearing to take the slightest notice of the circumstance. The street we are riding through is the grand promenade of Damascus, the Meydan. What a disappointment! This Meydan is bordered with miserable looking houses, built of mud and pebbles, with crumbling mosques, which are never repaired, and with shops of rude artisans, who are ever ready to insult strangers if they were not certain of immediate punishment. Now that the Turks have unsparingly disarmed the whole of the Damasquins, these people, to

avoid the bastinado, have given up enjoying the pleasure of walking about with swords, daggers, and pistols; every one tries to look as inoffensive as possible; but it is evident that fear and hatred of their oppressors hold divided empire over the hearts of this amiable population.

The pavement of the Meydan of Damascus is in a dreadful condition, and you must take extraordinary precautions to avoid breaking your neck at every step. Our poor horses are at a loss where to place their feet on the large worn and shining stones, but if they feel anything but secure, we are still more uncomfortable.

Whilst threading this filthy street, I still indulged a vain hope. "This must be a suburb," I continued whispering to myself; "presently we shall arrive at the enchanted palaces, realising the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*, which travellers have been extolling with such harmony of admiration. At the extremity of the Meydan, we found the bazaar, an extensive covered street, where foot passengers, horsemen, and camel-leaders, crowd in jumbled together between the shops, with scarcely light enough to find their way. A second disappointment! The bazaar of Damascus presents certainly a curious spectacle; but, oh, my first dreams of the *Thousand and One Nights*, where are you? After the bazaar, which we paced along during a considerable time, we enter a street like those of all the eastern cities, and called the Straight Street. We proceed through it for about five minutes, and stop at last before a small door, surmounted by the

French flag. The Hôtel de Palmyre! This is our inn, and here we alight.

The reader will perceive that my first impression of Damascus was anything but favourable. "I hate this city," say I to myself, "for being so ugly, after I had fancied it so beautiful; I will never forgive it for the mistake; people are not to be taken in so outrageously." I cross the threshold of the inn, and descend into a small dark yard, that turns and takes me into the real court of the house; when, lo! I am struck with astonishment, and feel my indignation of the moment before, already beginning to subside. Let us briefly notice this house, which has but slight pretensions to comparative beauty, as I afterwards learnt by experience.

In the middle of a large court, in which a tame antelope skips about, is a large reservoir full of water, over which are bending two magnificent orange-trees. In front of one of the extremities of the reservoir is a large hall, entirely open towards the court, with an estrade accessible by two steps. Round this estrade runs a wide divan (sofa) resting against the walls. Two large square rooms, also with estrades, open to the right and left of this hall, and are lit by well-sized windows looking on the court. The walls and ceilings of these rooms are literally covered with richly-carved arabesques, intermingled with pious sentences elegantly written. On the opposite side is an extensive chamber, terminated by a circular apsis with a divan. In the centre of this apsis is a round reservoir with a jet d'eau, which can be made to play at pleasure. To the right and left are two other rooms with

estrades. An immense vine, planted at the foot of the wall of this face, rises to the top of the house, and forms on the surmounting terrace a delightful arbour, under which you may breathe and inhale fresh air, during the burning heat of summer. All the walls of these different rooms are decked with the most graceful, and at the same time, the most fanciful arabesques which the commonest artisans are capable of drawing. Numerous rooms are placed in the upper story, and along a third face of the court.

This inspection at once reconciled me to Damascus. Certainly, the house, seen from the outside, looks like the most miserable hut of a paltry village; but, in the interior, it is a jewel fit for the residence of a prince; and yet a thousand times inferior to the sumptuous dwellings which I visited on the following days. Truly, these Arabs of the cities are a strange race, who exhibit on the outside of their dwellings mud walls crumbling to decay, whilst the interior, which is hermetically sealed from strangers, exhibits all the elegance and splendour of a palace.

An hour after, we were honoured with a visit from M. de Ségur, our own consul, and also from our amiable fellow-traveller, Mr. Wood, consul of Her Britannic Majesty. These gentlemen, as soon as they had been apprised of our arrival at Damascus, were kind enough to pay us the first compliment, and came in the most friendly manner to offer their services. The reader will readily conceive with what pleasure we received our visitors. We had lived for many days amongst patriarchal savages, and found ourselves suddenly restored to civilised

society, with all its politeness and charms! As we were exhausted with fatigue, we requested these gentlemen to accept our excuses for this day; we therefore remained at home, and immediately after dinner sought repose, after a long absence of such indulgence on real beds.

March 9th.

The morning has been occupied in visiting at our excellent consul's, with whom we were to dine in the evening. He has done us the favour of presenting us to his family, by whom we have been most cordially received. The habitation of the French consul is delightful, and on seeing it, we begin already to surmise that the Hôtel de Palmyre, which we admired yesterday with so much enthusiasm, is a mere barrack. M. de Ségur, desirous of showing us the superior residences of Damascus, took us to the houses of two rich Hebrew merchants, placed under the protection of France. These are MM. Stambouly and Sakaïm, who entertained us with the most studied politeness. In each family, handsome young women, and amongst the number, Mlles. Sammah and Rifkah, whose names I have noted down, as belonging to two lovely creatures, hasten to present us lemonade, sweetmeats, coffee, and tchibouks, which it would be impossible to refuse. After our third visit, we are so distressed with these kind offerings that we internally denounce the routine of etiquette and ceremony.

A word respecting these ladies. All of them, when they have to make a single step, clamber up on the top of wooden pattens, formed of a sole fixed upon two

boards, a foot in height. I cannot imagine how they can contrive to walk in these inconceivable appendages on the slippery flag-stones of their courts and chambers. Besides the ungraceful and disproportioned height, they produce an incessant clattering of hard wood against the stone, which is anything but agreeable. The eye-brows which Providence has given them they consider unworthy, for they shave them with the greatest solicitude, and replace them by artificial lines fantastically curved, and the more intensely black from being entirely painted. For myself, I infinitely prefer what nature has endowed them with. Hair is an ornament which young maidens alone are allowed to exhibit. As soon as they are married, the hair is closely cut off, the little that remains carefully concealed, and in its stead matrons carry on their heads towers of black ostrich feathers. This is as unbecoming a decoration as can possibly be imagined. Let us hope, for the sake of the fair Damasquines, that these absurd fashions will soon be abolished.

Whilst speaking of fashions, I must not forget to mention one which is universal among the native females; and which shows itself everywhere, as you approach Damascus. This fashion is by no means a new one, since it can be traced back to the most remote antiquity. I mean a small gold button, often ornamented with a turquoise, and which females insert into their nostrils in imitation of a shirt-button. We learn something on this subject from the Bible, when Abraham's servant was sent into Mesopotamia, to seek a wife for Isaac, the son of his master.* . . . . Cohen translates the passage as follows:

* Genesis, xxiv. 47.

"I then put a ring to her face and bracelets to her hands.* The Hebrew text says literally, "I put the *nezem* to her nose, and the bracelets to her hands." This word *nezem*, has already been translated by Mendelsohn, *nose-bob*, although the Septuagint had rendered it *ear-drops*. In the 22nd verse of the same chapter, it is said: "And it came to pass, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold." The Samaritan text, after the mention of the first ornament, adds, *and he put it to her nose.*† Any traveller who has passed through the villages in the neighbourhood of Damascus or Bâalbek, can have no doubt as to the meaning of these two verses; the ornament in question is unquestionably the same which the females still wear appended to their noses, and has no resemblance either to a ring or a drop, but is a real button.

When we had finished our round of visits in the palaces of the French protégés, we called at the British Consulate, where we were disappointed in not finding any one at home. From the Straight street in which the Hôtel de Palmyre is situated, by turning to the right, in the direction of the Grand Mosque, you find in close proximity the palace of the British Consulate. The exterior appearance of this residence resembles that of the humblest house in a village of our own country. But the interior is even more magnificent than any we have

* The English version says, "I put the *ear-ring* upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands." *Editor's Note.*

† (וישם את הנזם על אפה).

hitherto admired. Before reaching the door of the Consulate, we passed before an ancient wall, constructed of magnificent blocks of free-stone. I have no idea to what monument this portion of wall, which is very long, may probably be referred.

This evening we dined at M. de Ségur's. After dinner, the party at the French Consulate comprised all the members of the European colony in Damascus. We heard some good music, and returned home delighted with our day's recreation. To reach our hotel, we had to pass through half a dozen wooden gates, closing the different quarters of the city, and which the respective guardians opened for our free passage on receiving the customary "backshish."

From March 10th to March 14th.

This morning, after having written several letters, and arranged my notes in order, I went to examine the gate at the entrance of the Straight street, called the Bab-ech-Charqy (the eastern gate). This is a large and ancient structure of Roman workmanship. An immense arch, now walled in, served in former times for the egress of the population. It was flanked by two smaller arches, one of which, on the right side, now answers the purpose of a gate for the city of Damascus. Evidently, to terminate by such a gate, the ancient street must have been a large and splendid one. Alas! the change is lamentable, for the modern Straight street is ugly, narrow, and dirty, and anything but straight.

M. de Ségur has come to breakfast with us, and we have also received a visit from Doctor Hammerschmidt, a

celebrated German naturalist, compelled by the revolution of Vienna to leave his country. He has turned Mussulman, and bears, at present, the name of Abd-Allah Effendi. He is employed at Damascus, in the capacity of a surgeon in the Turkish army, and continues, with great activity, his microscopic researches in zoology, and more especially in the genera of *vermes*. After breakfast M. de Ségur took me to the residence of the Seraskier of Arabistan, Emyn-Pacha; a very distinguished character, and deeply versed in all matters connected with fire-arms, of which he is an amateur, and thoroughly understands their construction.

A short time after my return to France, I learnt the death of the Seraskier, who was carried off by a brain fever in a few days—a serious loss for the Ottoman empire, which has not many servants worthy of filling the place of Emyn-Pacha.

After several tchibouks and cups of coffee, and a long conversation on the subject of the Dead Sea (Emyn Pacha, who had resided for some time in Paris, spoke French admirably), I obtained from him permission to visit the old castle of Damascus, and an officer was ordered to take us there immediately. Undoubtedly this is the craziest old castle in the whole world. All that has not already crumbled away is disappearing daily, and waits but for a suitable pretext to fall down altogether. I observed, as I went along, a fine Arab inscription fixed over the door of a casemate; this is a *Tarikh* of the sultan Kelâoun. Close to a guard-house, are standing some fine, massive, ancient columns, which must have belonged to an important

edifice. The officers in charge of what is called an arsenal showed me a collection of pieces of old iron; amongst these are heaped together, without order, some crooked arquebuses, completely unserviceable, a quantity of arrows, and several rusty iron balls, which, they assured me, were actually the steel balls, out of which were formerly fabricated the celebrated Damascus blades. In deference to these gentlemen, I shall submit to receive their story, but my readers are not bound to be equally polite.

Under the vault, supported by the ancient columns, and over a closed door, were hung up an immense bow, and an old helmet which, unfortunately, I could not examine close enough to be enabled to determine its age. As to the bow, M. de Ségur, at my request, asked the Seraskier to make him a present of it. The request was complied with; M. de Ségur obtained possession of the bow, which he presented to the French Museum of Artillery, where it is now deposited. It is, unquestionably, one of the most curious weapons I have ever seen, and appears to be the bow of a war engine. The shaft, made of pieces of wood and dried sinews, has been damaged by fire. As it was suspended as a trophy in the castle of Damascus, it is, very probably, the bow of a ballista, taken from one of the last cities captured from the Christians by the sultans of Damascus, at the time of the definitive overthrow of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

From the top of a square tower, upon which we had climbed to enjoy a view of the panorama of Damascus, I descried, just above the bazaar, and against the wall

of the grand mosque, a magnificent pediment, of the era of the higher empire, which I shall not forget to examine.

On the third day, M. de Ségur came to conduct us to the exterior of the grand mosque, by passing along the terraces over the goldsmiths' bazaar. By means of leaping from one terrace to another, and so on, we were able to see a considerable portion of the building, all approach to which is formally interdicted to Christians. A square door, set round with a Greek inscription, in large letters, is placed above this terrace: and, beginning from this door, runs a series of long friezes, covered with ornaments and mouldings. Unfortunately we were exceedingly ill at ease on these terraces. Notwithstanding the favourable dispositions of some goldsmiths in the bazaar, who had lent us their personal assistance to mount them, any fanatic who should have happened to discover us from any loop-hole on the top of his house, was free to treat us to a bullet, without our having any right to complain, as we were doing what was interdicted by law. Our guides, themselves, felt rather anxious, so we had to rest contented with a mere cursory glance at the mosque, and came down again, as fast as possible, to the bazaar, very well pleased, of course, with having seen what we had seen, but still more so, that we had escaped from the venture without mischance.

Judging from a first glance, the Greek inscription on the gate, the upper part of which we greatly admired, seemed to me to be Byzantine, and, most probably, religious. I believe the grand mosque of Damascus was originally a Christian church, of the

period of Justinian, which had taken the place of a Pagan temple, and afterwards became a mosque in its turn.

After having bought in the bazaar some good medals—which the goldsmiths here are never in a hurry to melt, because they hope that, sooner or later, some European traveller will purchase them for more than their intrinsic worth—we went to take another ramble along the terraces. But this time we incurred no danger, as we had no intention of approaching a consecrated building. I mentioned just now a magnificent ancient pediment, which I had descried from the top of the ruins of the old castle, and this we proceeded to examine. In the grand avenue of the bazaar, leading to the porch of the mosque, we entered a shop, where, for a bakhshish of a few piastres to the owner, we were allowed to climb, by a very dark staircase, to the terrace on the top of the bazaar; and there we found ourselves in front of four enormous Corinthian columns, surrounded by a gigantic pediment, overloaded with ornaments. The modern houses have clung to these venerable ruins, and if the portion outside and above these miserable huts is still in tolerable preservation, Heaven only knows how that which remains inside has been treated. At any rate, this pediment was connected, as far as I can judge, with the ancient temple, the site of which is now occupied by the grand mosque. The distance is too small between the two monuments, for any other conclusion to be adopted.

From the bazaar we returned home, passing the street that lies along the aqueduct, called el-Qanaouat, which

aqueduct is the instrument of the prodigious distribution of water throughout the whole city of Damascus. It appears that from this run off, in all directions, the canals supplying the innumerable reservoirs with which all the quarters of the town, and the houses of every quarter, are provided. I doubt if there is another city in the world so liberally and so ingeniously treated in this respect. From the Qanaouat, we passed by a coffee-house, before the door of which is placed a tolerably handsome jet d'eau, the only one, I believe, that exists in Damascus, in the public streets.

Our departure is fixed for the 14th March, and we have induced the entire family of our excellent consul to join us in an excursion to Bâalbek. We are thus to start together, and our parting will take place in the midst of those ruins, of which such marvellous stories are related. Some will return to Damascus, and others to Beyrout. Mr. Garnier, the chancellor of the consulate, is also to be of the party; and as M. de Ségur intends taking with him, besides his dragoman, one of his kaouas and a lady's maid, we shall form a numerous caravan.

The few days we have passed in the capital of Syria have been spent rapidly and agreeably, enhanced by every possible civility from all the members of the European colony. We have particularly passed some extremely pleasant hours with Mr. and Mrs. Wood, who have overwhelmed us with kindness and attention. It is impossible to practise with superior delicacy or refinement the duties of hospitality. My companions have purchased, at moderate prices, some fine swords,

procured by the disarming of the population. I have myself bought several fine specimens of the copper plate, *Damaskeened* with silver and gold, which belonged, some centuries since, to the sultans of Damascus. A *Chemmâa*, or grand chandelier, amongst the number, is a perfect master-piece; a fragment of another chandelier of the same form bears the name of a Malek-en-Naser, and a dish-stand shows that of a Malek-el-Saleh. As three Mameluke Sultans of Damascus have borne the name of Malek-en-Naser, it is difficult to ascertain to which of the three this chemmâa has belonged; all reigned between the years 1290 and 1360. Three Malek-el-Salehs have also reigned in Damascus between 1342 and 1389. It becomes therefore equally puzzling to settle the owner of the dish-stand. But, in the meantime, these pieces of plate are of the fourteenth century, of splendid workmanship, and well worthy of a place in any museum.

Weariness overpowers me at last, and I long for the moment of our departure for Beyrout. I dare not yet indulge too much the thought of returning to France. Although the time fixed for our leaving Syria approaches rapidly, many days are still to intervene. I must therefore shake off, if I can, the remembrances that weigh on my spirits, as they would infallibly clog and interfere with the advantages I may yet derive from the remainder of our journey. Nevertheless, I begin to count the remaining days with a certain impatience. We have decided to embark on the 5th of April next, in the steamer for Marseilles, and I am equally anxious for the dawn of that day, as also to look well and

accurately at all that I have still to examine on the way back to Beyrout.

In Damascus we have parted from Gustavus de Rothschild, who left us, taking with him Francis Dzaloglou and Selim. As he intends to visit Greece, he must hurry off to Beyrout to be in time for the steamer of the 16th March. Already our caravan is beginning to break up. Three weeks more, and all will be dispersed, after eight months of a life of adventure, danger, and toil, sustained in common. The thought of our approaching separation also throws a damp upon my spirits, and greatly allays my thirst for new discoveries. It seems as if I had exhausted my stock of energy and curiosity, and now I merely long for repose. Patience! a few days more, and the hour of rest will arrive.

As historical details concerning Damascus are to be found everywhere; and as, besides, of this place—one of the most ancient in the world—scarcely any vestiges remain above the ground of the modern city, I shall dispense with all further description. If it were possible to make a lengthened sojourn here, and to undertake a series of diggings on an extensive scale, I have no doubt that many monuments of antiquity would be unearthed; but unfortunately the undertaking is so difficult, that I believe it to be impracticable at the present moment.

March 14th.

This morning, by eight o'clock, we were all on horseback. We first proceeded to the consulate, but found the Ségur family had already preceded us. We

therefore quickened our pace, and traversing the whole extent of the city, by passing through a kind of market in the open air, established along the castle wall, emerged at last from Damascus upon a fine wide road, bordered on the left by the foundations of an hospital, begun by order of Ibrahim Pacha, and which, as a matter of course, has remained unfinished since the retreat of the Egyptians. The Damasquins never even think of repairing their crumbling mosques, but passively allow them to fall to pieces. How then could they ever dream of completing a new building?

We soon reached the foot of the Anti-Libanus, whence we ascend, through a street of the village of Salehyeh, to the eminence commanding this magnificent situation. Here, again, are to be seen the remains of sumptuous religious buildings, constructed by the Sultans of Damascus, and which the systematical carelessness of the present possessors of the land has shamefully allowed to go to ruin. We overtake the Ségur family as we were leaving Salehyeh, and together admire the matchless prospect presented at this point. Damascus seems to be softly reclining on a bed of flowers, for the millions of fruit trees, forming an actual forest round the city, are every one in bloom. The weather during the few days we have halted there has been extremely fine, which has alone sufficed to stimulate in an incredible manner the spring vegetation. The apricots are the most numerous, as their dried fruit, or *michmich*, constitute one of the most valuable branches of the trade of Damascus. The trees in full blossom look from a distance as if their branches were sprinkled

with snow; but the heat of the sun soon destroys this illusion.

After having lingered a few moments to enjoy this magnificent panorama which we are about to leave, probably never to look on it again, we enter a frowning ravine cut through the rocks, and begin climbing in real earnest the flank of the Anti-Libanus. The country we then cross is extremely forbidding, as far as the valley of the Baradah, a pretty little fishing-stream, which supplies the aqueducts and the reservoirs of Damascus. At the village of Doummar we reach the valley of the Baradah. From this village we ascend the river by following constantly its left bank, after having crossed it at Doummar. Four hours after our departure from Damascus, we halt in a field to enjoy our merry and most agreeable breakfast. We then start again immediately, and after a march of three additional hours, alight in the village of Souq-el-Ouadi-Baradah, where we are to pass the night.

Before reaching this spot, we observe by the side of the road, and in the actual bed of the Baradah, or rather of a tributary canal, which conveys its water to a mill, some broken shafts of columns, and enormous blocks of free-stone, the presence of which indicate the former existence of a town of some importance. Before the house where we are lodged is a large mill, supplied with water by the Baradah, the bed of which is a few yards lower down. This mill is almost entirely constructed from the ruins of an ancient temple, of which the basement and some bases of columns are still in their original position. We are thus

convinced of the fact that we are on the site of an ancient city.

M. Garnier, chancellor of the consulate of Damascus, is lodging by himself, in a house, on the door of which, fixed into one of its side posts, is a curious Christian inscription, which I hasten to copy. Whilst we are washing and cleansing the inscription we propose to read, one of the inhabitants of the village tells us that he knows another stone with an inscription in a field, situated some distance off, on the flank of the hill, and to the left of the road which we have been following. M. de Ségur, Edward, the Abbé, and I, immediately persuade him to conduct us there. To take a short cut, we first go down to the narrow strips of meadows forming the right bank of the Baradah, and immediately recognise in the rocks numerous and evident traces of ancient constructions. As soon as we ascend again to the Damascus road, our guide takes us, a distance of half a league, through cultivated fields, to the point where we are to see the promised inscription. But the poor devil cannot find it, and we begin to suspect that he has been playing us a trick. M. de Ségur becomes furious, and severely rates the man, who is much abashed, and commences scratching up the earth with his hands all round the pointed stones protruding from the ground. Tired of waiting, we were on the point of returning to the village, the more readily as the day was waning, and darkness coming on apace, when our Arab utters a cry of triumph; he has discovered the top of the stone bearing the inscription. He disengages it from the

earth in which it is buried, and places before us a singularly fine *Stelè*, (Στήλη) bearing a date inscribed within a wreath, and two female names written below. The inscription seems to belong to a good period. I hasten to transcribe it; and by the time we reach Souq-el-Ouadi-Baradah, night has nearly closed in. We have certainly traversed an extra league to procure this second inscription, but we do not regret our pains, since they have led us to the discovery of a monument hitherto unknown. The Christian inscription in the village, M. de Ségur purchases from the owner of the house, intending to remove it at some later opportunity.*

On the left bank of the Baradah, on a line with the village itself, is to be seen a fine remnant of a bridge, evidently of Greek or Roman construction. Ancient remains are visible everywhere in and around the village, and it would be evidently most interesting were it possible to find some inscription from which we might learn the name of the city formerly existing there. On my return to France, I resolve to make some researches concerning this locality, and have good hopes that I may succeed in determining the name.

I little thought at the moment that the very next morning the problem would be solved.

The whole caravan collected in our lodgings for dinner, which passed over delightfully, and after our meal and tchibouks, conversation was carried on, as if

* Some time afterwards the inscription was brought to Damascus, and has remained ever since in the house of the French consulate. It is very desirable that it should be sent over to Paris, and deposited in the Louvre. It has some importance in handing down to us the name of a bishop of Abila of Lysanias.

we had been assembled in a drawing-room. Then, when the hour of rest arrived, every one sought his own room, and all passed an excellent night.

March 15th.

On rising this morning we found the weather very cloudy; it has rained much during the night; the aspect of the heavens is by no means satisfactory, and portends a wet day. As soon as I am up, a young man of the village, who saw me the evening before running half a league to find a stone with an inscription, comes to warn me that he knows of another within a much shorter distance. In consequence the Abbé and I immediately accompany him, following the right bank of the Baradah (Zimmermann's map erroneously places the Souq-el-Ouadi-Baradah on the left bank), through trees and bushes that sprinkle a constant shower upon us as we pass. We are led by our guide in front of a ladder thrown across the river, which is very wide at this spot, and rolls through the rocks, like a rapid (*Gave*) of the Pyrenees. I confess I am not inclined to attempt the passage, at the risk of falling into the torrent, or, at the least, of undergoing a very disagreeable bath, if I am fortunate enough to escape with life and limb. I therefore turn back; but my timidity is not contagious. The Abbé ventures on all fours across the ladder, and reaches the opposite side without accident. The Arab who follows him in the same manner has equal success, and both disappear amongst heaps of ruins and shafts of standing columns, that mark unquestionably the principal quarter of the ancient city.

I return home rather ashamed of myself, and, as I

[illegible] I was [illegible] Nejm [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

contains a cippus in the shape of an altar bearing the following inscription :—

PRO SALVTE
IMP AVG ANTONI
NI ET VERI M VO
LVSIVS MAXIMVS
7. LEG XVI · F · F ·
QVI OPERI IN
STITIT V S

To the right of the lower niche a cartouche is carved, containing this inscription :—

IMP CAES M AVREL ANTONINVS
AVG ARMENIACVS ET
IMP CAES L AVREL VERVS AVG AR
MENIACVS VIAM FLVMINIS
VI ABRVPTAM INTER . . . . .
MONTE RESTITVERVNT PER
IVL VERVM LEG PR PR PROVINC
SYR ET AMICVM SVVM.

IMPENDIIS ABILENORVM.

This last line is placed beyond the cartouche, on a listel disposed below it. Several holes, pierced at regular distances below the upper niche and the large cartouche, show that some ornaments had been fixed to the rock. Of what nature were these ornaments? It is impossible to guess at the present day.

At a hundred paces further on, is the opening of another trench of the same width, but not so long, cut with the same care, and on the flank of which we find again the same inscriptions, but carved in a slightly different manner, and completing certain words deficient in the two first samples. I therefore think it necessary to copy the variations. The votive inscription is here again upon a cippus, but this cippus projects in relievo,

and has no surrounding niche. The characters are disposed as follows:—

PRO SALVTE
IMP AVG ANTO
NINI ET VERI
M VOLVSIVS
MAXIMVS 7
LEG XVI FF QVI
OPER INSTITIT V S

A large cartouche contains also the second inscription, but here the last line is comprised within the cartouche. As far as the fifth line, the text is identically the same; this fifth line contains the words:—

VI ABRVPTAM INTERCISO

then from the sixth line, the two samples are again identical.

The problem of the unknown name of the ancient city, happened thus to be immediately and perfectly resolved. This city was Abila, to which I shall have occasion to refer presently. The Baradah, under the reign of Marcus Aurelius and of Lucius Verus, had, in one of its overflowings, swept away the public road to Abila. The two emperors ordered its reconstruction, and to prevent another accident of the same kind, Julius Verus, legate and proprætor of the province of Syria, directed the new road to be cut into the rock, considerably above the bed of the torrent. It was the sixteenth legion, commanded by Marcus Volusius Maximus, who, under the direction of its chief, accomplished this work, the expenses of which the Abileans paid. The reader may observe that chance greatly favoured me, by thus supplying in my need a precious

document concerning the name and history of the city through the territory of which we were passing.*

As soon as I had copied these inscriptions, we went down into an aqueduct-canal hewn in the side of the rock, and followed it for a considerable distance, when suddenly the enormous slabs that formerly covered it, appear in their original place over a space of fifteen yards. The open interval allowed for the passage of the water is too low for us to creep under it, unless by lying flat on the ground; but as at the same time it would be necessary to make an immense circuit by retracing our steps, to get round some considerable masses of rock, so as to reach the necropolis, we must even make up our minds to proceed along the cornice (about six inches wide), which these inclined slabs leave uncovered on the edge of the canal. This cornice is disposed perpendicularly above a precipice, nearly twenty yards deep; our road, consequently, is by no means agreeable. However we determine to venture on it, one after the other, without feeling quite sure of finding our way back, and successively gain the opposite side of the chasm, without encountering any accident.

We are then close to the tombs, and I hasten to take a sketch of several, preferring the larger ones. Various chambers, hewn in the solid rock, contain, generally projecting from the wall, a number of enormous stone coffins of various sizes, and with grooved edges for the purpose of fixing the lids. All these lids have disappeared, and

* I am not aware that this inscription has been already published; but I should suppose it must have been, as it is too much exposed to the sight of travellers going from Damascus to Baalbek, to have escaped observation.

throughout the whole necropolis, not a tomb has been left unviolated. In some instances large staircases have been hewn in the rock, for the use of the funereal caves into which they lead. One of these caves, containing sixteen sarcophagi, presents to the right and left of the entrance, two small windows, intended to allow a little light to penetrate into the interior. Some sarcophagi are excavated under the open sky, and rise above each other like the steps of a staircase, on the horizontal faces of the rock.

The pediment which we had descried from the road, on our way to the Djesr-es-Souq, is much mutilated. The two large figures have been broken, and are nearly undistinguishable; from a distance we had thought they were still in a satisfactory state of preservation. Close to this pediment is a small sepulchral cave, with which it is evidently connected. This cave only contains five tombs: one on the left side, higher than the floor of the room, and in a large niche shaped like an oven (*en cul-de-four*); two others at the farther end of the chamber, immediately above the ground, and close to each other, in a line parallel with the wall; then two more, on the right side, lower than the floor; the first one indenting into the floor of the chamber, the second further down, and immediately behind, under an arch.

A little farther on, I perceived on a polished face of rock the following traces of an inscription:—

. . . . . A . . . . .
. . . APIOC . . . . .
(Here the rock is fractured.)
. . . . . T . . . . .
. . . . . M . . . . .

In another place, two surfaces, each of them in the shape of a *Stelè*, have been polished, for the purpose of receiving inscriptions; the one on the left bears, as far as I am able to judge, notwithstanding its mutilated state,—

ЄTOYC
HOY . . . . . .
ΔIOYZЄHP .
. . . ΘACANΘ
OYЄTWN .
. . . K . . . .

The *Stelè* on the right is completely mutilated. Finally, in another point, the rock presents two busts arrayed in the chlamys, but the heads have been broken off.

As it is rather difficult to walk amongst these rocks, our examination had already lasted three hours, notwithstanding the diligence we had used; it was consequently high time to think of turning back. We assembled together for the purpose of retracing our steps to the spot where our horses and breakfast were waiting; but on arriving at the aqueduct and cornice which it was necessary to pass again, I felt that I was going to be seized with vertigo; and as I had no particular inclination to risk my neck, I determined to make a circuit, however long, to avoid this disagreeable necessity. I saw my companions disappear one after the other by this path, fit only for squirrels, and when I found myself alone, I reflected upon the best means of getting out of the scrape. At a distance of some fifty yards behind the extremity of

the aqueduct, and a little higher up, I perceived a large opening in the side of the mountain. I hastened to the spot, and then recognised that I was at the entrance of a trench perpendicularly hewn in the rock, and probably intended for the passage of some ancient road. Traces of the work of man were visible everywhere. This trench is a few hundred yards long; when at the end of it, I found myself upon grass-covered hillocks, with enough of undulation to prevent my seeing a quarter of a league around me. I was thus reduced to take the best bearings I could, to proceed in the direction of the Baradah. Marching on for at least half an hour, I went considerably beyond the site of the Djesr-es-Souq; but, at length, on climbing a final crest, I discovered the bridge. Then proceeding hastily, I soon rejoined my friends, harassed by my solitary walk, and equally soaked through with perspiration and the rain, which had begun falling for the last hour.

As nobody knew what had become of me, my friends were growing rather anxious at my protracted absence, which was perhaps the more regretted as breakfast was delayed in consequence. As soon as I made my appearance a general demand arose for the required meal, which I was not the last to accede to, as I was literally starving.

As soon as breakfast was dispatched, we mounted our horses, and riding at a smart pace along the left bank of the Baradah, soon reached a pretty little plain called Sahel-Zebdany, which we crossed from east to west. To our right was a range of high mountains, on a line parallel with the road. At the extremity of the plain is

situated an extensive village, called Zebdany, which might even be taken for a small town. At a distance of half a league, before reaching Zebdany, we were overtaken by a storm of rain, and now being as wet as a flock of ducks, and the Ségur family having preceded us, we hurried on as rapidly as possible, although we could descry here and there ancient ruins in Zebdany, in the walls of the houses, and by the side of the road. As we cleared the village, we passed before a mill, established on a tributary of the Baradah, and reached by an ancient bridge of very superior workmanship.

About the same distance from Zebdany, as that between Zebdany and Djesr-es-Souq, we pass by the side of a village called Ayn-Hour, which we leave to our right. A few minutes before, I had descried from a distance, on the flank of the mountain, a sufficient number of sepulchral excavations to ascertain the existence of the necropolis of some ancient city. Beyond Ayn-Hour, our route which, until then had been directed west-north-west, suddenly turns north-east. Before us, and about two leagues off, we observed a thicket of trees, in the midst of which was a village, called Sarrhayah. We were still a league from it, when we were suddenly caught in a terrific squall of snow, which accompanied us until we reached the village, and left us in such a state, that on arriving at our halting-place, we had to strip our garments from head to foot, and dry them as well as we could.

Three quarters of an hour before reaching Sarrhayah, we passed to our left a small village called Marraboun. A very curious spectacle greeted us on our arrival. As

it was snowing severely, all the inhabitants of the village were perched upon their terraces, and plying their rollers with intense exertion to sweep off the snow, which, in melting, would have penetrated through their ceilings. These poor people received the whole storm upon their shoulders. Our hosts are Christians, and the landlady, taking at the same time every imaginable precaution to avoid burning her house, made us such an exhilarating fire, that we remunerated her with a present of five piastres!—twenty-five sous!—and this trifling sum made her a happy woman.

Altogether, if the morning has been archæologically productive, it has been rather too damp to be pleasant. When I think of the excessive heat we were enduring a few days since, and of the intense cold of to-day, I ask myself how we contrive to escape the deadly influence of such sudden changes in the temperature. Either Providence is protecting us visibly, or our constitutions are made of iron. For myself, I unhesitatingly adopt the first conclusion.

The snow has continued falling throughout the evening; then the clouds have dispersed slowly, and the moon made her appearance; let us hope the weather will clear up to-morrow. We visited the Ségur family, who declined to brave the storm and share our dinner. Their lodging is rather distant from ours, and the ladies could not, without serious inconvenience, venture across the ploughed fields, covered with melted snow, for the only advantage of not remaining at home. We therefore dined by ourselves, and after having indulged freely our coffee and tchibouks, retired to rest.

Let us now look back, and try what we can learn respecting the city of Abila, the ruins and necropolis of which we visited yesterday and this morning. This city, which had been the seat of the Tetrarchy of Lysanias, and sometimes bears the name of Abila of Lysanias, was given by the Emperor Claudius to King Agrippa, together with the whole of the Libanus.* In the Itinerary of Antoninus (iter xix., Seriane Scythopoli occora) we find the following indications:—

Heliopoli		
Abila (al. Abyla)	xxxviii.	Millia p. (plus minus).
Damasco	xviii.	„

We find also in the same Itinerary the following fragment of a route:—Iter LI., a Damasco Emesa (*sic.*):

Abila (sive Abyla)	xxxviii.
Heliopoli	xxxii.

The numbers in these two vestiges of Itineraries differ completely; consequently one, at least, must be erroneous. Perhaps they are both so.

Peutinger's table gives us the following measurements. (Ed. de Fortia, clxxviii.):—

Eliopoli (al. Heliopoli) Agamamam (?)		
Abila (al. Abyla)	xxxii.	M. p. (plus minus.
Damaspo (al. Damasco)	xviii.	„

If we compare these numbers with those we have before extracted from the Itinerary of Antoninus, we find that the number xviii., between Damascus and Abila, is repeated twice, as also the number xxxii.,

* Jos., Ant. Jud., XIX. v. 1; and XX. vii. 1.

from Abila to Heliopolis. These are, then, probably, the true distances which ought to be adopted; they have besides the advantage of agreeing almost exactly with the actual distances dividing Damascus from the Souq-el-Ouady-Baradah, and the Souq of Bâalbek.

Ptolemy places Abila in Cœlesyria, and to the northward of Damascus; and calls it by the name of Ἄβιλα Λυσανίου. This city had given its name to the Tetrarchy of which it was the capital, for in the Gospel of St. Luke (iii., 1), Lysanias is entitled Tetrarch of Abilene. In the acts of the Council of Chalcedony,* we find mentioned, immediately after Josephus, Bishop of Heliopolis, a Jordanus, Bishop of Abila (Ἰορδάνου Ἀβίλης). The place here mentioned is certainly our Abila. I have spoken also of a rather curious Christian inscription, found in the side post of a door of the village of Es-Souq, which contains the name of another Bishop of Abila, called John.

In the collection of Itineraries published by M. de Fortia, Colonel Lapie identifies Abila with a locality called En-Naby-Abel. But this name can only belong to a Mussulman chapel or oualy, and not to the ruins of a city. I find, in Zimmermann's map, in the vicinity of the village of Souq-el-Ouady-Baradah, a place called Naby-Abel, situated to the northward of, and about a league distant from, the real site of Abila. It is very possible that the ancient name of this city may have given the Mussulmen the idea of calling En-Naby-Abel an oualy situated in its vicinity, but this is all I can possibly admit. This oualy is not on the high road

* Vol. iv. Concil. Génér., p. 180.

between Damascus and Bâalbek, where are evidently to be seen the immense ruins of a city, the name of which is determined by positive inscriptions; consequently, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, with regard to the necessity of identifying the Abila of Lysanias with the Souq-el-Ouady-Baradah.

March 16th.

This morning, on getting up, we find the weather considerably improved. The sky is nearly cloudless, and the snow has disappeared altogether. We therefore prepare to continue our journey, and by nine o'clock all mount their horses. We are soon marching along the left bank of a water-course, called Nahr-el-Beka, which we pass over a bridge called Djesr-el-Qadhi. This bridge is about two or three thousand yards distant to the north-north-west of the village of Sarrhayah. Beyond the bridge a very steep ascent commences, called Akbat-Roummaneh. This takes us to the southern flank of a high mountain, forming a part of the range of the Anti-Libanus. The road we are following is the shortest; there is another, which, instead of passing by the summits, ascends the valley, on the flank of which we are moving. This other road passes by the locality called Nabi-Schit (the prophet Seth). We reach, placed on the crest of the mountain, a miserable village, called El-Kheraybeh. Large flakes of snow are lying in all the hollows situated on both sides of our road; we are consequently at a considerable elevation. Some small stunted cedar trees show themselves here and there.

On leaving El-Kheraybeh, we descend immediately

into the Ouady-Masnah, which we cross, to climb another mountain not so high as the first. Then, by a small descent, we enter a kind of plain, intersected by large ravines, bordered by low hills. The first of these ravines which we cross is called Ouady-Sbat; the second is the Ouad-Djereïban. This last is bordered to the southward by perpendicular cliffs, in the flank of which have been hollowed three large grottoes, situated to the left of the road. At the bottom of the valley, the road passes by the side of a spring, called Ayn-el-Minteneh. On the opposite side of this valley, which is scarcely more than a hundred yards wide, a large platform begins, at the further extremity of which we expect to find Bâalbek. We pass before the village of Bereytan, leaving it to our left; further on, the village of Ayn-Bourday shows itself, and, half an hour after, we finally arrive at Bâalbek.

Our road passes along the eastern flank of a range of hills, which still conceal from us the ruins of the celebrated temples we are proceeding to visit, when we descry, to our right, and in advance, a ruin of modern appearance, called Ras-el-Ayn. This is the fountain-head of the spring that formerly supplied Heliopolis, and the waters of which were carried there by a canal three or four yards wide, built of fine free stone, and every where bordered with ruins, still covered over, from distance to distance, by the arches of several small ancient bridges, also constructed of large blocks in superior workmanship. As soon as we arrive in front of the extremity of the range of hills situated to our left, the temples appear, in all their magnificence, a few hundred

yards distant from us. From this spot, it is impossible to conceive a more imposing spectacle. We then turn to the left, in the direction of the temples, and find that the entire flank of the hills commanding the modern village of Bâalbek, and by the foot of which we are passing, on the left bank of the canal, is pierced by a number of ancient sepulchral excavations. Here is matter enough to occupy the researches of many days, and we can scarcely command two or three at the utmost, to devote to Heliopolis! We halt by the side of the Christian church of Bâalbek, at a distance of three hundred yards from the temples, and in front of a house adjoining the residence of the bishop, who affords accommodation to travellers as a simple inn-keeper. At his habitation the Ségur family establish their quarters; we instal ourselves in the adjoining house, which André and Matteo contrive to clean out, and which promises to afford us tolerably comfortable accommodation. Our arrangements are thus completed, with the certainty of remaining here two nights at least, if not three.

On our road to this place, just as we were opposite Bereytan, and on the mountain situated to the eastward of that village, and at a distance of an hour and a half's march, an ancient inscription was pointed out to me, carved upon a rock called the Bab-ez-Zerqah. Perhaps some interesting discovery may be made there, and I recommend the Bab-ez-Zerqah to the attention of future travellers.

I need not say that we had scarcely alighted from our horses, when our first impulse was to run to the far-

famed ruins lying around us. They have been so often described and sketched, that all I could say would be merely a repetition of what so many others have said before me. I shall consequently dispense with entering into descriptive details divested of novelty, and shall merely note down the impressions left upon me by these splendid relics.

To reach the temple that first presents itself, it is necessary to climb over a chaos of broken shafts of columns, and huge pieces of entablatures and cornices. Each of these fragments is an actual rock, and the beholder is at once struck with awe at the contemplation of these gigantic materials. But this is merely a miniature specimen, which is humorously called *the small temple!* Indeed, it is a mere plaything, when compared to the one the ruins of which we shall presently investigate. We walk round the peristyle, and on arriving at the corner column of the western front, observe that the shaft, blackened with powder, has been recently ruined and reduced to half its size, by the explosion of a mine concealed within its flanks. It was Tadmour Pacha, the Turkish general, placed under the orders of the Seraskier of Damascus, who, quite recently, after the sanguinary battle, fought at Bâalbek, against the insurgents who had chosen to imitate the example of those of Haleb, conceived the bright idea of mining this column, to see if he could discover lead within it. I understand that he procured in this manner fourteen *Oques* of lead, amounting in value to about five and twenty francs. I am sorry for Tadmour Pacha, but I leave his name to the execration of all civilized nations.

I cannot express the indignation, amounting to fury, which I felt on beholding the traces of this barbarous mutilation. I believe if the savage had been near me at the time, I should have sent a bullet through his head without the least hesitation.

Nearly all the right portion of the peristyle has preserved its ceiling, which is decorated with rich caissons, rather overloaded by elaborate ornaments. At the eastern extremity is the porch of the temple, the entrance to which was through a large rectangular door set round with carvings of the most capricious elegance. A crowd of small figures seem to be gambolling amongst the wreaths of foliage, flowers, and fruits; but all have been barbarously decapitated. The central key-stone of this door has unfortunately been driven down about two yards from its original position, by violently displacing on the right and left the blocks constituting the lateral hances (arch-stones). The consequence is, that the centre portal is dislocated, and within a very short time will inevitably fall in. To this gate are attached, to the right and left, and towards the inside, two large masses of masonry exactly copied from the Egyptian pylons (Πύλοι). It is still possible to ascend one of these; but to penetrate the interior, it is necessary to crawl like a lizard through a very low opening half choked up by rubbish. The inside of the temple is encumbered by masses of stone fallen from the walls and ceilings. This interior is nevertheless still beautiful, although disfigured by the innumerable collection of the names of visitors with which all the walls are scribbled over. The sight of these ill-placed inscriptions excited

my ill-humour. What interest will future generations ever take in learning that Messrs. So and So passed half-an-hour of the time they might have devoted to studying these venerable remains, in laboriously defiling them with their names and qualities? There is a very common proverb, but as true as it is common: "Nomina stultorum parietibus hærent." Amongst the crowd of names, the Pyrenean singers discovered that they were paying so much honour to the temples of Bâalbek, by coming to visit them, that they have affixed their catalogue to ten different places. But without taking any further notice of this pitiable folly, let us continue our survey of the interior of the ruins. To the right of the small temple is to be seen a vast platform surmounted by a magnificent range of six Corinthian columns still standing, and connected by their entablature. This is a fragment of the peristyle of the *Great* Temple of the Sun, and, with the exception of the pedestals of many other columns remaining in their original positions, is all that can now be recognised. These columns have been measured by my friend Maximus du Camp, who found them thirty-seven feet in height, and rather more than twenty-one in circumference. The colonnade, including the entablature, has sixty-nine feet of total height. This temple was adorned with fifty-six columns, ten of which were placed at each extremity, and eighteen on each of the principal sides. The colonial medals sometimes represent the porch of this building. The Temple of Jupiter had only thirty-four columns, thirteen on each of the longer sides, and eight on the front and rear faces.

Between the large and small temple are the remains of a large Christian church, constructed from the fragments of the Pagan monuments. This ruin is circumscribed within a magnificent enclosure situated in front of the large temple, and ornamented throughout its whole extent with niches formerly occupied by a numerous population of statues. Two fine hemicycles, with double stories of niches, face each other on the principal sides of the enclosure. The general plan is composed of a hexagon resting against the exterior porch, to which is attached an immense parallelogram serving as a vestibule to the great temple. To the eastward is a portico, or piazza, leading on the right and left to an elevated pavilion containing a small, dark, square chamber. The portico consists of a large hall, the level of which was probably reached by an immense staircase, of exactly the same breadth as this principal hall; but no trace of the staircase now remains. Some fine pedestals, placed on the edge of the modern wall, which falls perpendicularly from the floor of the portico on the adjacent ground, seem to indicate that this was the true entrance of the sacred enclosure. The exterior faces of two of these pedestals bear some inscriptions which cannot be read from below, but very apparently were intended to be read. My inference is, that they had been boldly carved to strike the eyes of all who might ascend the grand staircase leading to the platform of the temples.

All this vast enclosure has unfortunately been transformed into a citadel, most probably by the first Mohammedan conqueror, and the walls have been raised

to a still greater height, with carved blocks of every description taken from the monuments of the interior. After the walls had been reconstructed in this manner, they were crowned with a line of loop-holed battlements, still in perfect preservation on many points. In the rear of the small temple are to be seen the remains of a fine Mohammedan building, most probably a palace, intended for the commandant of the garrison entrusted with the defence of this fortress.

Leaving the enclosure of the two Temples of Jupiter and of the Sun, we proceeded to visit the building called the circular temple. This is veritably a circular structure, upon which are leaning curved arches supported by columns. Between these columns the wall of the rotunda exhibits some large niches which must have contained statues. This small ancient structure is unfortunately very much creviced at the present day, and threatens to fall to pieces. It is more curious than handsome, and the plan altogether of inferior taste.

After this first visit, which filled us with admiration, we returned to our *Menzil*. M. de Ségur is as angry as I am, at the recent mutilations of which we have just witnessed the deplorable effects. I am rejoiced at this, as he intends making a complaint to the Seraskier, Emyn-Pacha, on his return to Damascus. For my own part, I shall not fail to lay a serious complaint before Vamik-Pacha, mouchyr of Syria, on my return to Beyrout.

A common proverb says, "Travellers are permitted to lie." I doubt whether the license has ever been so freely indulged, as when some contributor supplied the editors

of the *Magasin Pittoresque*,* with a view of the village of Bâalbek, accompanied by a description, in which I find the following phrase:—"The walk along the quay, planted with large trees, is not deficient in either character or beauty. A number of elegant and rapid barks give a peculiar animation to the scene, by gliding over the limpid waters of the little river of Ouadi-Nahle, which, after having passed through the ruins and the village, throws itself in the Nahr-Kasmick." This pretended view of Bâalbek is that of one of the pretty villages, situated on the shores of the Bosphorus, near Constantinople, and the description is as much to be depended on as the view.

To-morrow the Abbé and I renew our researches, whilst Edward undertakes a reconnoitring excursion as far as the village of Bereytan, where, we are told, there is a necropolis containing several inscriptions.

March 17*th*.

This morning our first occupation was to return to the ruins. We therefore repeat our yesterday's pilgrimage, and return from it with an admiration even more enthusiastic than that with which our first visit had inspired us. These ruins are of overpowering magnificence. It would take months to study the site of Heliopolis with sufficient leisure, so as to omit nothing that it contains of curiosity and interest.

Edward, Philippe, and Matteo, have gone, according to our arrangement, to visit the necropolis of Bereytan. The Abbé and I purpose after breakfast to clamber

* Year 1845, p. 377.

to the necropolis of Bâalbek, in search of ancient remains, whilst Belly and Loysel are to occupy themselves with painting wherever they choose. The weather to-day is perfectly beautiful, and favours all our different plans.

Immediately after breakfast, the Ségur family departed in the direction of Ras-el-Ayn. M. Garnier has set off in search of *Tarikhs*, which he intends copying, amongst the Mussulman remains; and lastly, the Abbé and I, passing by the southern side of the ruins, have turned towards the hill, on the summit of which all the rocks are pierced with sepulchral caves. On the flank of this hill an enclosing-wall runs, constructed of large blocks taken from the ruined buildings of Heliopolis; and consequently, in the number of these blocks, are to be found, at every step, upon some of them, inscriptions and fragments of sculpture. Towards the lowest point of this enclosed area, between it and the temples, a wall appears formed of immense blocks, which I believe to be extremely ancient. Amongst the stones strewing the ground, and nearly on the top of the wall, is to be seen a funereal cippus, which has been, I believe, already described by Burkhardt, and bearing the following inscription :—

C · CASSIVS ARRIANVS·
MONVMENTVM SIBI
IN LOCO SVO · VIVVS
FECIT

After we had copied this inscription, we proceeded to the foot of the interior face of the enclosure, and

immediately commenced a rich collection of notes concerning some very curious vestiges.

One of the first which struck me is a fragment of a Greek inscription in square characters. The fragment is rather more than four feet and a half in breadth, and must have formed the frieze of a fine sepulchral edifice. This frieze was adorned in the following manner:—A plat-band, eleven inches in height, presents a series of small fluting, in the shape of longitudinal niches, each five inches in height, by an inch and a quarter in breadth, with an interval of somewhat less than an inch between them, and a distance of two inches between their summit and the upper edge. A surface of four inches has been mutilated, and below this surface are to be seen two listels, four inches in height, each containing a line of writing. Below is an empty listel, not more than two inches and a half high. Having found, a little further on, another fragment of the same frieze without writing, but where the part below the small niche-like fluting had not been mutilated, I was enabled to ascertain that below the fluting there was a cordon of ovolos, something less than three inches high; and, lower still, another cordon of one inch and a quarter, ornamented with olives and small cones, placed end to end in couples. I found three fragments of this same inscription in the vicinity, and the following are the portions of text which I extracted from them. The letters, as I have already observed, are all square.

ΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΛΥΣ . . . .
—ΛΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ .

This word of the second line is certainly the last of the inscription, as all the remainder of the plat-band has been left empty.

A second, and much longer fragment, bears these words :—

ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΩΛΥΣ . . . .
ΟΥΙΟΙΣΜΝ . . . ΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ . . . .

And, lastly, a third fragment has only the letters :—

. . . . ΟΙΣ ΥΙΟΙΣ . . . .

Boëkh, under the Number 4523 of his valuable collection, has published these fragments, taking them from Pocock, who observes, says he, that the letters of this inscription are square. Boëkh has endeavoured to reconstruct the miserably defective copy of Pocock, as follows :—

"(Ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ Δεῖνος γυνὴ, τοῦ δεῖνος) θυγάτηρ, Ζηνοδώρῳ Λυσ(μ) άχου καὶ Αν . . . . υἱοῖς μ(νήμη)ς χάρ(ιν) ἀνέθηκεν."

The learned editor adds :—"Zenodorus hic fortasse ex posteris est Zenodori Tetrarchæ, qui conductâ pretio Lysaniæ Tetrarchiâ, Traconitidem, Bataneam, Auranitidem, Paneadem tenebat, sed jussu Augusti solum Paneadem retinuit;* mater defunctorum bis nupta videtur.

The fragments I have discovered of this inscription afford more positive information than that which the learned Boëkh was able to extract from the imperfect copy to which he had access. The result of all seems

* Cf. Joseph., Ant., XV. x. 1.

to be, that a woman, whose name has been lost, and the daughter of ?, erected this monument to Zenodorus and Lysanias, sons of Lysanias the Tetrarch. Josephus tells us that Zenodorus had purchased the Tetrarchy of Lysanias for a certain price, but he says nothing of the family of this Zenodorus. As it was scarcely probable that the first comer should be able to farm or take a lease of a Tetrarchy, we may presume that Zenodorus, sufficiently rich to purchase it from the empire, was also, as a matter of course, by his birth in a position elevated enough to demand this distinguished rank. The supposition has now become a certainty, since Zenodorus is designated as being the son of the Tetrarch Lysanias, and as having a brother who bore the name of his father. Our Bâalbek inscription then derives from this circumstance a great historical value. The fragments of text which are still wanting are certainly walled up in the masonry of the enclosure, and sooner or later will find their way through to complete an extremely curious epigraphic monument.

The same portion of the wall supplied me with some highly interesting fragments; such as, for instance, four pieces of a singular frieze, ornamented in the following manner:—A plat-band, two inches in height, and rather more than one and a half in projection, rejoins the face of the frieze by two slanting sides, two inches and a half high. This face of the frieze has no other decoration than a stroke of lightning or zig-zag carving, the angles of which are placed about thirteen inches above the moulding already described. The short sides of the zig-zag are three inches long, and the

principal ones (I mean those which are nearly in an horizontal position) are nearly twelve inches in length. The stroke of the zig-zag is formed of a narrow plat-band, slanting off towards the surface of the stone at the upper part only, whilst below, it projects perpendicularly upon this same surface. These four fragments were scattered at considerable distances from each other in the masonry of the walls.

I also took particular notice of the corner of a pediment, a stone presenting a fine acanthus, to the right of which is a rose; then again a bas-relief, shaped like the brim of the well, and representing a wild boar, who, with a blow of his snout, hurls a dog into the air; and, lastly, the two halves of a circular altar, two feet in height, on the surface of which were disposed four bull's heads, ornamented with small bands, and united by large garlands of foliage.

Some mutilated inscriptions are also to be found here; one containing two lines in Latin. The first line, the letters of which are nearly five inches high, comprises the words—

L · FECENN . . . .

and the second, of letters only three inches high, expresses—

PIFF . . . NIVS . . . .

in which the second character remains doubtful. After the fourth three letters are wanting.

A Greek inscription, nearly illegible, was completely buried in the masonry at the top of the wall. The stone

immediately below having been removed, the following letters now appear:—

ΑΛΑ . . ΛΕΙ (?)
ΣΕΙΔΩΝΙ . .
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ . .
ΚΑΙΑΛΥΠ .

And, lastly, at the north-west angle of a square tower, projecting beyond the enclosure, are to be read these two words:—

ΚΕΝΤΥΡΙΑ
ΠΡΙΜΑ

This Latin inscription, written in Greek characters, is more valuable than might be supposed at first sight. Indeed it seems to me to demonstrate that the military enclosure to which it is posterior, was raised by the Christians to resist the Mohammedan invasion.

After having noted these curious vestiges, taken from the single branch of wall that ascends from the bottom of the valley to the summit of the hill where the necropolis stands, and merely from its western face, we entered the enclosure, and began to explore the necropolis itself. Time pressed us hard, and I regretted exceedingly that I was not able to examine these venerable walls throughout their whole extent with the attention they deserve. Without any doubt, much is to be gathered there, since along an extent of three or four hundred yards at the utmost, I had been able to pick up all the fragments I have just mentioned. The line of wall facing eastward is more considerable. There also, without any doubt, new facts remain to be

discovered. I therefore earnestly recommend this research to any travellers who may succeed me at Bâalbek, and who may have a few days to devote to the ruins of Heliopolis. I promise them, in full security of conscience, that it will be neither time nor labour lost. As the principal object with the Abbé and myself was to visit the exterior of the enclosure of the two great temples, and to study it carefully, we were not at liberty to dwell for any length of time on any particular spot, but were obliged to carry on our general exploring with great rapidity.

The first object we encountered on the lawn was an immense Doric capital, two feet and a-half high, presenting a series of complicated mouldings. In the lower part is a cavetto, then a semi-torus, ornamented with ovolos. Above this is an ogee, and over all a plat-band. Then another ogee, a listel, and a plat-band inclining towards the axis of the column. The projection of the upper listel over the shaft of the column scarcely exceeds six inches. The platform of the capital is a square of five feet and a half on each side. This platform combines some singularities, which I do not pretend to account for, but shall describe as briefly as possible. At the four angles are holes which must have received hooks, intended to fix some kind of ornament. In the middle is a cavity, nine inches deep, two feet long, and twenty inches broad. In one of the angles of this cavity, a small shaft is hollowed out, having the shape of a truncated cone, ten inches in the upper diameter, six in the lower diameter, and a little more than three inches in depth. On the same diagonal,

towards the opposite angle, and at a distance of seven inches from the first hollow I have just described, is to be seen a similar one connected with the opening of a perforation going entirely through the capital, contrived in a small square cavity at the bottom of the central orifice. This species of gutter is only seven inches and a half long, by six inches and a half broad. What can have been the object of this strange arrangement, I find it impossible to surmise.

About fifty yards further on, are lying on the ground, and resting against each other, like backgammon-men, the tambours of the column, to which the capital I have now described belonged. These tambours, thirteen in number, seem to have nearly a uniform radius of little more than two feet. This shaft rested upon a dado, measuring upwards of five feet on each side, and two feet three inches high. I have already said, that the capital itself was two feet and a half high; the sum of the separate heights of the tambours lying on the ground, is twenty-seven feet nine inches. The dado supporting the shaft is two feet three inches high. The remainder of the base is composed of two dados placed over one another; each of these is fourteen inches in height, with a projection of nine inches. The lower dado rests on an irregular platform erected upon the rock. This platform is three feet high, and measuring above eleven feet on each side. The total height of the column was, therefore, thirty-eight feet and a half.

When speaking of the capital, I have mentioned, a hole passing through it. This hole corresponds with a channel, in the shape of a groove, which runs along the

shaft of the column, going down to the base. This groove is rather more than four inches deep, and of equal breadth, and it has, in addition, a narrow listel-ridge bordering it on both sides. The same channel appears, on the base, at a distance of fourteen inches from the south-western angle of the upper dado, and continues on the following ones, and probably down to the surface of the rock. I omitted to verify this last circumstance.

This column summounted a sepulchral cave, which was opened, a few years since, by M. Montefiore, as I was informed by the inhabitants of Bâalbek. The general arrangement of this funeral monument is as follows. The base of the column is established at the western extremity of a platform, the opposite end of which you reach by a staircase of five irregular steps, roughly hewn in the rock, and bearing from north to south. Five yards behind the base of the column, to the northward, and only two yards distant to the right, from the centre of this base, the axis of a trench passes, leading to a door cut from the solid rock, four feet and a half broad, and which was formerly closed by means of a stone, fitting sideways into a groove, three inches in depth, by seven in breadth. No trace of this closing-door now remains. The cave to which this door gives admission, contains several sarcophagi, disposed side by side, recently violated, and of which the lids alone have been displaced. On one of these lids two geniuses are represented supporting large wreaths, and above them are placed grotesque figure-heads. M. Montefiore had determined to have this sarcophagus taken out with the object of carrying it to England;

but the amiable inhabitants of Bâalbek flocked into the cave on the night following the discovery, and broke the sarcophagus to pieces. The fragments remained within the grotto, and there I was enabled to sketch them.

It is evident, that the whole monument consisted of the cave and the funereal column by which it was surmounted. In all probability, this column bore above its capital an urn, or some other kind of metallic ornament, which the rains might have damaged; and that, in consequence, the channel grooved along the shaft of the column, and which must have likewise been covered with a metallic plate fixed into the shaft, was intended to carry off the rain water to the foot of the column, and thence into the soil. I offer this explanation merely as a surmise, though I confess I cannot find any other equally feasible.

A little further on is to be seen, lying on the ground, a large square stone, four feet long, the sides of which are arched, and presenting in its inferior part a kind of vault containing a caisson magnificently ornamented. At the four corners are capitals of pilasters; the whole being crowned by a quadruple pediment. This was without doubt the canopy of a tomb; and this elegant roof was, probably, intended as a covering to a statue.

A few sepulchral caves hewn in the rock in this place, presented arrangements exactly analogous with those I had observed in the necropolis of Abila, and which Edward had also investigated at Bereytan, whilst I was intent upon the monuments of Bâalbek. For instance, one of

these exhibits a square chamber with a sarcophagus on each of the three sides removed from the entrance. Another, the anterior face of which forms a very sharp angle with the axis of the apartment, contains a single sarcophagus on the left side, two placed end to end along the bottom, and a fourth on the right hand side. But, as the chamber takes the form of a trapezium, this right side being much shorter than the left, the sarcophagus on the right has necessarily occupied a portion of the space allotted to the bottom one, and its extremity comes immediately on a line with the two others.

Time was wearing away rapidly; we had, therefore, to return speedily to the temples, to examine their exterior portions, which are usually neglected, while they are even more worthy of admiration than the ruins of the temples themselves.

Along the whole of the southern side, the outward enclosure presents nothing but Mohammedan constructions, in connection with the fortress, which succeeded the temples of the Sun and of Jupiter. Along the western face, the aspect is quite different, and the beholder remains struck with amazement in presence of a wall, jointed together with incredible perfection, formed of blocks, the mass of which is so stupendous, that it is impossible to estimate the mechanical power employed to bring them from the quarry, and then hoist them to a height of thirty feet. The basement of the surrounding wall is formed of three courses of blocks, of very considerable dimensions, and arranged with perfect regularity. Above these layers runs a cordon

of masses disposed side by side, with the upper parts standing backwards, so as to regain by an inclined plane the front of the lower portion. These masses are at least four yards high (I did not measure them very accurately), and vary between six and twelve yards in breadth. But this is not all. Above the basement rests a course of only three blocks, each about four yards high, by twenty long, at the least. All this portion of the wall has been surmounted by a Roman, or rather by an Arabic arrangement, of tolerable regularity; for several tambours of columns and fragments of entablatures, belonging to the great temple, are fixed into the masonry. To the right of the colonnade, nearly all the crown-work of the wall belongs to this recent period. The gigantic apparatus, I have just described, extends, without interruption, as far as the north-western angle of the enclosure, which angle itself is entire.

Along the northern face a wall begins, between eight and ten yards in height, four or five yards thick, and more than sixty yards in extent. A very few stones (six in all, as far as I can recollect) make up the whole of this structure, and present upon their surface a number of notches, at regular distances, which have unquestionably been used to fix the cramp-irons by means of which these immense masses were set in motion. The Roman enclosure is situated at a distance of ten or twelve yards at least, on this side of the wall. I call it the Roman enclosure, because its apparatus is perfectly beautiful, and the top of this wall, already so remarkable in itself, answers the purpose of a foundation for the bases of the

columns of the great temple, which are still in their original position, since the Arabs would certainly never have taken the trouble, after they had once been removed, of replacing them exactly at the same distances where they stood in the original arrangement of the monument. The interval comprised between the Roman wall and the wall formed of the six gigantic masses, constitutes a sort of corridor or ditch, exceedingly damp and cool; the entrance into which is by a small door opening on the surrounding country, or to speak more correctly, upon a kind of trench, which on this side surrounds the enclosure. This door is pierced in the wall, to the westward of the large masses, and before you reach them.

To the eastward, the bottom of the intermediate corridor has evidently been filled up with indiscriminate fragments. It is now sufficiently raised to enable any one to pass easily from thence to the top of the large wall, so as to walk upon it without any difficulty. This corridor is closed to the eastward by a wall, having a door more than half buried in the rubbish, and giving entrance into an enormous subterranean gallery, of which I shall presently speak.

At the point where the large masses cease to appear, the outline of the Roman enclosure commences, altered in many places by the Arabs, when they converted it into a fortress. As I have just observed, a kind of ditch, under cultivation, runs along the northern face of the enclosure, and beyond that are gardens, fields, or orchards, terminated by a wall in bad repair, into which is fixed an inverted Greek inscription comprised within a cartouche,

but in a very mutilated state. All that I was able to decipher I here transcribe :—

ЄΡΓΟΝΤΟΥЄΝΔЄ
. . . Τ . . ΝΑΤΟΛΙΟΙ
CΤΡΑΤΟΝΟΜΑΡΧΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΥΠΑΤΟΥ

I think I can make out from the above that the eastern portion of one of the fortified works (?) was raised by a personage called Nomarchus (?), of consular family, but as I cannot undertake to reconstruct the whole inscription, I leave this study to more experienced epigraphists.

I have said that the eastern face presented originally, and projecting forward on the foreground, a porch accessible by a vast staircase, now completely razed. Twelve columns, the bases of which are still in their original position, supported this porch. They have been thrown down and replaced by an Arab wall, into which the pedestals have been built, as it was easy to fit them in with the masonry of the wall substituted for the colonnade. Two square pavilions, ornamented with four Corinthian pilasters, were placed to the right and left of the porch. These have been heightened and transformed into defensive towers. At their foot, on the neighbouring ground, and to the left, a fragment of an inclined aqueduct appears formed of two arches, and now completely isolated.

On two of the pedestals inscriptions are engraved, in the long slender style of the characters of the period of Septimius Severus. As they are placed at a height of about ten yards from the ground, they cannot be

deciphered with the naked eye. But as we had discovered them the day before, on our first visit to the ruins, we had provided ourselves with telescopes, and by lying down flat on our backs, so as to give steadiness to the glass, the Abbé and I contrived, each in turn, to decipher one of the two inscriptions. They appear to be identical, and from a comparison of the two imperfect copies thus procured, I have been able to make out a tolerably complete text, running as follows:—

. . . M DIIS HELIVPOL PRO SALVTE
DIVI ANTONINI PII FEL AVG ET IVLIAE
AVG MATRIS D · N CASTR SENAT PATRIAE
CAPITA COLVMNARVM DVO AEREA
AVRO INLVMINATA SVA PECVNIA
EX VOTO

It appears to me that this inscription is to be reconstructed thus:—"Magnis Diis Heliupoleos, pro salute divi Antonini Pii felicis Augusti et Juliæ Augustæ matris domini nostri, castrorum, senatûs, patriæ, capita columnarum duo? ærea auro inluminata, suâ pecuniâ, ex voto." This inscription, which, from the shape of the letters, I had supposed to belong to the period of Septimius Severus, even before I was able to read a word, is the written testimonial of a vow made for the health of Antoninus Caracalla, son of Septimius Severus, and of his mother Julia Domna. Thus the reader may see that I had made a correct guess as to its approximate age. Although still living, Caracalla already receives the title of Divine, by a base flattery on the part of the person who paid for the two capitals in gilt bronze, alluded to. It is to be regretted that we cannot discover the name of this courtier. As no mention is made of

Geta, assassinated by order of his brother Caracalla, in the year 212 of the Christian era, either this inscription was engraved between the years 198 and 209 (in which last year Geta received the title of Augustus), or between 212 and 217, the last being that of the death of Caracalla.*

In the rear of the projecting porch are to be seen, to the right and left, two long faces of ancient walls, opening into which are doors giving entrance to immense subterranean galleries, which usually answer the purpose of stables for travellers' horses, and were employed, as I was told, for the same purpose, by the cavalry of Ibrahim Pacha, during the occupation of Syria by the Egyptian army. These galleries are very wide and long; and deserve to be studied with great care, for they afford the clearest and most positive demonstration of this fact, that the temples of Bâalbek, the ruins of which we are now admiring, were raised upon the remains of a temple

* Wood had previously observed these two curious inscriptions, of which he gives the following copies:—

I.

MDIISHELIVPOLPROSAL.
ANTONINIPIIIFELAVCIIIVIIAEAVCMATRISDNCASTRSENATPAIR . . .
COLVMNARVMDVMERINMVROINLVMINASVAPECVNIAEXVOTOLAS.

II.

M DIIS HELIVP
ORIISDNANTONINIPIIIIIAVGFIIVIIAEAVGMAT . ISDNCAS
TONINIANAECAPITACOIVMNARVMDVMER . . . VROINLVMINA
TASVA . EC.

Mariette, in his manuscript memoir, of which I shall have occasion to speak by-and-by, observes, on the subject of these two inscriptions:—"I cannot tell what meaning to find for these words, which form a part of it—'Capita columnarum dum erant in muro in luminata suâ pecuniâ libens meritò solvit.'" He concludes, however, by expressing an opinion that the capitals of the porch *have been gilt*, on the occasion of a festival celebrated in Heliopolis in honour of Caracalla, and of Julia Domna, his mother.

much more ancient, and still more important with regard to the enormous size of the materials employed in its construction.

The following facts establish this conclusion. The galleries are in remarkably fine Roman style, and the key-stones are ornamented with busts or Latin inscriptions,—consequently these vaults are Roman; but so is not the massive construction, made of much larger blocks, upon which the Roman vault is grafted. For instance, the bases of all the sides are of this gigantic material, and a primitive vault, thrown down at a period unquestionably long anterior to the foundation of the two great temples, has preceded the present vault. This is so evident, that some of the wedge stones of the inferior part of this original vault have remained in their first position, occasionally along a great extent, and have received the declension of the Roman arch, the curve of which is besides quite different, and much less elliptical than that of the primitive coping. The colour of the stones employed in the two distinct portions of the construction would be enough of itself to demonstrate the fact of the existence in these galleries of portions of masonry belonging to periods very distant from each other. And lastly, it appeared to me evident, from the first glance, that the axes of these galleries were not at all parallel with the axes of the two Roman temples, the colonnades of which have the same disposition with regard to the direction of the compass. I had unfortunately made a present of my last compass to Doctor Hammerschmidt (Abd-Allah Effendi) during my stay in Damascus; consequently I was unable to measure the

angle of inclination of the axis of the galleries upon the axis of the Roman temples.

It appears to me to be a fact perfectly demonstrated, that the remains of the primitive temple of Bâalbek are quite perceptible; that these remains are to be found in the northern and western portions of the enclosure, where the immense masses are placed which the Romans were not accustomed to employ; that they are also visible in the subterranean galleries extending right and left, under the massive structure that supports the sacred enclosure situated in front of the Roman temples of Jupiter and of the Sun; and also in the transversal passage connecting the two principal galleries which I have just mentioned, in rear of the Roman porch.

Here are the inscriptions to be found in these galleries. The key-stone of the door of the right-hand one has the following words, for which I can find no intelligible meaning:—

DIVISIO
CHONN
IAIVIVI

A little further on another key-stone has the word GIRSV. Across the middle of the gallery lies an enormous broken shaft of a granite column, twenty-nine inches in diameter. This column has never formed a part either of the Temple of the Sun, or of that of Jupiter, since the columns of these two buildings are of compact calcareous stone.

In the left gallery, twenty-five yards distant in rear of the door, are two arch-stones, one of them bearing a

bust, and the next on the right of this bust, having the words :

DIVISIO
MOSO

Lastly, in the transversal gallery, one of the key-stones presents a bust of Hercules, perfectly recognisable.

Hours fleet away rapidly in the midst of such interesting researches; the Abbé and I only left the place when driven away by approaching darkness. On reaching home I found Edward returned from his excursion to Beriitan. He found there many sepulchral caves, and has brought back several interesting sketches. As I did not myself visit these funereal excavations, Edward Delessert's drawings will explain them much better than I can. I shall, therefore, merely observe, that at the top of one of these is carved in the rock a cartouche containing a mutilated inscription, of which the word FLAVIVS was all that my friend could decipher.

The Ségur family joined us at dinner, which passed off most gaily and cordially. To-morrow morning we separate, and whilst our friends travel back to Damascus, we proceed in the direction of Zahleh, from whence we propose to cross the range of the Lebanon on our way to Beyrout.

This evening, the full moon shines brightly over the temples; the luminous masses stand out in full relief backed by the snow-capped range of the Lebanon. Nothing can be more grand, noble, or exciting than such a spectacle, which we hasten to enjoy. It is not every traveller who has the good fortune to look on

Bâalbek by the light of a full moon. In a similar hour I had already admired the Colosseum and the Parthenon, nor would any consideration have tempted me to give up the chance of beholding Bâalbek illuminated by the same enchanting rays. Although exceedingly tired, I joined the Abbé, who had returned to the ruins, and never experienced a more exquisite sense of hallowed feeling than during this nocturnal ramble. Under the silvery rays of the moon every object in this ruin melts into harmony, all contrasts become soft and agreeable, everything assumes a grander and more poetical aspect, so that stern reality is changed to a delicious dream, engraven on the mind for ever.

The coolness of the night compelled me to return sooner than I should have preferred. I smoked a last tchibouk, and threw myself on my bed, musing with delight over our discoveries of the day, regretting, at the same time, all that I must leave behind me unexplored to be discovered by future travellers, who may succeed me in a pilgrimage to Bâalbek.

Let us now shortly notice this wonderful city. Syrian tradition asserts that Solomon was the founder of Bâalbek, as it is positive that he founded Thadamora (Tadmor), or Palmyra.* Unfortunately this tradition is not established on any solid foundation. There is indeed mentioned in the verses above referred to, a city of Bâalath, which Benjamin of Tudela supposes to be Bâalbek; but this identity is anything but certain. However, if Solomon was able to construct Palmyra, it

* 1 Kings, ix 18; 2 Chron., viii. 4 and 6; and Josephus, Ant. Jud. VIII. vi. 1.

is just possible that he should have likewise built Bâalbek, and the more so, as the latter was by far the more accessible country of the two.

Pompey passed through Heliopolis on his march towards Damascus.* At a later period this city was transformed into a Roman colony, and there are to be found in the various museums, a number of colonial medals that were coined here, from the reign of Nerva to that of Gallienus. The name given to Heliopolis was Colonia Julia Augusta. . . .

Here follow the really important passages supplied by ancient historians concerning the history of the temples of Bâalbek. We find in Macrobius:† "Assyrii quoque Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant, in civitate quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur. Ejus dei simulacrum sumptum est de oppido Ægypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur. Regnante apud Ægyptios Senemure, seu idem Senepos nomine fuit, perlatumque est primum in eam, per Opiam legatum Deleboris regis Assyriorum, sacerdotesque Ægyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partimetis; diùque habitum apud Assyrios, posteà Heliopolim commigravit. Cur ita factum, quâque ratione profectum in hocce loco ubi nunc est posteà venerit, rituque Assyrio magis quam Ægyptio colatur, dicere supersedi, quia ad præsentem non attinet causam."

We read in John Malala:‡—Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βασιλείαν Ἀδριανοῦ, ἐβασίλευσεν Ἥλιος, Αντωνῖνος πῖος—ὅστις ἔκτισεν ἐν

* Josephus, Ant. Jud., XIV. iii. 6.

† Leyden edition, Arnold Doude and Cornelius Drienvysen, 1670, p. 310; Saturnal., lib. i. 123.

‡ Joan. Malalæ, Hist. Chron., lib. xi.

Ἡλιουπόλε τῆς Φοινίκης τοῦ Λιβάνου ναόν τῷ Διΐ μέγαν ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν θεαμάτων. After the reign of Adrian, succeeded the reign of Ælius Antoninus Pius, who built in Heliopolis, the Phœnician city in the Libanus, a great temple to Jupiter, so great that it was classed amongst the wonders of the world.

Lastly, in the Paschal Chronicle,* we read .... ὁ Θεωδόσιος καὶ κατέλυσεν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως, τὸ τοῦ Βαλανίου, τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον, καὶ τὸ τριλιθὸν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ Ἐκκλήσιαν χριστιανῶν .... Theodosius overthrew them, and likewise the temple of Heliopolis, that is to say, of *Balanios*, the great and famous temple, the *trilithon* temple, and converted it into a Christian church.

This passage is exceedingly curious, and supplies us with two very important documents. The first with regard to the name *Balanios* of the divinity of the great and famous temple of Heliopolis. I discover in this the Shemitic word Bâal and the Greek Ἥλιος, Sun, under an Arabic form, and pronounced with the permutation so common amongst the Syrians of the L into N. The second document is with regard to the word τριλιθὸν, the three stones. This applies admirably to the great temple of Bâalbek, the platform of which is composed to the westward of three immense blocks, as I have already stated. This remarkable peculiarity, without any doubt, obtained for the temple of *Bâal* (the Sun) in Heliopolis, its surname of *Trilithon*. Already, Mr. Wood, who quotes the same passage of the Paschal Chronicle, had perfectly understood the meaning of the two words Balanios and trilithon, contained in

* Olymp. cclxxxix. p. 130.

the text in question. This church of Theodosius appears to me to be the same of which ruins are to be seen to the eastward of the Temple of the Sun, and in the interval comprised between that building and the Temple of Jupiter.

The most important publication respecting the temples of Bâalbek is the magnificent volume that appeared in London in 1757, by means of which Robert Wood, who had studied, with the knowledge of a consummate architect, the ruins of Heliopolis, in the course of the month of April, 1751, pointed out to the consideration of the learned world the splendour of these celebrated ruins previously known to exist, although seldom visited.

The copy of this book, deposited in the library of the Institute, is extremely valuable, as it includes a manuscript appendix, signed "Mariette, in 1758," containing unpublished documents on the subject of Bâalbek. I have perused it with the deepest interest, and have extracted some notes which I reprint with much satisfaction.

The first document, chronologically speaking, inserted in this memoir, is a kind of general description of the ruins of Bâalbek, written in 1705 by M. Poullard, French consul in Tripolis. I find in it the following information concerning the large monumental column which I have been able to reconstruct, by studying separately each of its fragments. "The shaft of the column is composed of eighteen stones." Immediately after this phrase is a sketch, accompanied by the following explanation:—"Sketch of the column which served to raise the waters of Bâalbek; the channel inside this

column is to be seen on its western side; this is the conduit by which the water descended."

M. Poullard was mistaken with regard to the number of tambours composing the shaft of the column. Setting aside the capital and pedestal, the shaft had only thirteen and not eighteen. And, again, the hypothesis concerning the use of this column is inadmissible. How could it have been used to "*raise the waters* of Bâalbek," since it had no other channel than that constructed "*to let down the water?*" To descend, the water must first have gone up. By what channel and by what means? M. Poullard forgets to inform us. Besides, placing a column as a kind of *château d'eau* (reservoir) on the summit of a hill, at the highest point of a city, for the purpose of making the supply of water descend from the top of this column itself, is an arrangement that presents a double problem. First, by what machinery could it have been effected; and, secondly, why should it have been done at all? However, M. Poullard's work establishes this important point, that in 1705 the column in question was still standing.

The second traveller who visited the ruins of Bâalbek, and who, on his return to France, extolled their magnificence beyond measure, was a M. de la Roque. After him followed M. Granger, a botanist, sent into the east by the King's Government, with the object of procuring various plants and seeds. Granger forwarded to the French Minister, on the 28th of January, 1736, a memoir concerning the excursion he had made to Bâalbek, with the view of verifying the assertions of M. de la Roque. No doubt, M. Granger found that he

had much to abate of the marvellous expectations created in his fancy by La Roque's narrative, since he appears to have systematically undervalued all the monuments which had so strongly excited the admiration of his predecessor.

Here follow interesting passages from the memoir of Granger, who left Ketouly on the 15th October, 1735, to proceed to Bâalbek.

La Roque had spoken of sepulchral inscriptions which he had seen in the subterranean vaults situated under the ruins. Granger's statement on this subject is:— "There are no sepulchral inscriptions in these vaults, for I cannot give that name to some isolated characters, which appear to me to have been the work of travellers who may have come to visit these ruins, and have wished to leave a memorial of their passage by inscribing there the initials of their names. Such is my opinion with regard to the four letters D. V. I. S. engraved on one of the vaults by the side of one of the heads affixed to it: and also with regard to these other four letters which are to be read at some distance from the first, M. O. V. C., which have only been formed with the smoke of a torch." This last assertion is completely erroneous, and Granger's supposition with regard to these fragments of inscriptions is not worth refuting.

I find also in Granger's memoir the following passage:—"Having got through all I had to see and examine in the ruins of the palace of Bâalbek, I proceeded towards a column, situated at the highest point of the city. M. de la Roque compares it, both with regard to height and circumference, to Pompey's Pillar,

which is to be seen at Alexandria; but I cannot trace the resemblance, since the Bâalbek column is scarcely forty feet high at the utmost, including the base, capital, and even a pedestal, by which the column is surmounted, and which may have formerly supported a statue. I must add, that the shaft of this column is composed of three pieces of ordinary stone, and that I found it to be only six feet in circumference."

All these measurements and numbers given by M. Granger are utterly inaccurate. The diameter of the column is four feet four inches; its circumference, therefore, is thirteen feet, or more than double M. Granger's measurement. I shall content myself with this single correction. Nevertheless, it results from this memoir that in 1735 the column was still standing, and that its capital was surmounted by a kind of pedestal which might be supposed to have supported a statue.

In 1751, when Robert Wood arrived at Bâalbek, the column was still in its place. Sketches are given in the two first plates of his book, under the designation of the letter G. The text in regard to the plates is as follows:—"A column of the Doric order, the trunk of which consists of several stones; it stands alone on an eminence to the south-westward of the city; there is a small basin above the capital, in communication with a groove five or six inches deep, carved entirely along the shaft." Wood adds:—"I was told that the groove formerly answered the purpose of letting the water down from the basin, but I was not told how the basin was supplied with water. As this invention greatly spoils

the appearance of the column, I believe it to be a modern one."

This local tradition seems to me to confirm the idea I entertain, that the groove in question was intended as an outlet for the water resulting from the rain or snows that might fall upon the capital.

March 18th.

This morning, before mounting our horses, we visited for the last time the sumptuous remains of the temples of Heliopolis. The more you see them, the more your admiration is excited; and on each succeeding ramble you discover facts of additional interest, the existence of which had previously escaped you. It is not days, nor weeks, but entire months, that should be passed in Bâalbek, to be satisfied that some important matter has not been overlooked. For example, this morning, to the left of the great Temple of the Sun, I think I found the cornice of the platform of the primitive temple still in its original place, in the vicinity of the small Arab palace, and near the extremity of the left grand subterranean gallery, close to, and on to the right of the eastern pediment of the Temple of Jupiter. However, I had not sufficient time to examine this cornice, and to satisfy myself that it did not belong to the platform of the temple of the Sun, constructed under the Roman dominion.

Before returning to our lodgings, where our horses were waiting, we visited the ruined mosque situated to the eastward of the little circular temple. It is exceedingly curious on account of the ancient vestiges accumulated there, and of itself a serious study of a few

days. A basin for holy water, probably taken from the church built by order of Theodosius, is still there, fixed into the pavement, and has very probably been used for the ablutions of the pious Mussulmen.

The moment of our departure from Bâalbek has arrived. It is already near ten o'clock, and we find it hard to tear ourselves away from the enjoyments we have experienced during the days, so rapidly passed over, which we have been allowed to devote to the ruins of Heliopolis.

Our luggage has preceded us for more than an hour, and we must make up our minds to follow. As we are preparing to mount, we exchange parting reminiscences with the amiable Ségur family, and reciprocate wishes for mutual welfare. Alas! these hopes were unaccomplished. For amongst those we were then leaving, with the hope of meeting them again in happiness, was a beautiful young girl, already marked with a fatal sign by the finger of death. She has at least had the sad consolation of breathing her native air, and of closing her eyes in the fond caresses of a doting father and mother, who were unable to fly from Damascus until the disease, which was undermining the life of their child, had made such progress that human skill remained powerless before it. We had little prescience of this cruel destiny, when, in sight of the temples of Bâalbek, we addressed to our parting friends our warmest wishes for health and happiness until we should meet again in Paris.

At last the signal for departure is given; we exchange from a distance a last farewell by waving our hands;

and whilst our friends are retracing their steps upwards towards the east, we descend into the Beqâa. Such is the name given in the country around Bâalbek to the rich valley of Cœlesyria.

The road we are following takes us first to the quarry from whence the colossal masses of the edifice were extracted, on the ruins of which have been raised the two Roman temples of Jupiter and of the Sun. Several blocks ready hewn are still lying on the spot. One of these, especially, is exactly like the three immense blocks I have named before as forming a course of sixty yards in length, along the western face of the great Temple of the Sun. The mass before which we are standing is still connected with the rock by its inferior face. All the other blocks are finished, and their edges are as sharp and square as if the stone-cutters had just left them. The Abbé and Edward alight for the purpose of measuring the large block; they find it to be twenty-two paces, or nearly twenty yards in length. The breadth is four yards, and the height the same. The Arabs call this stone Hadjr-el-Kiblah (the stone of the south, towards which the face is to be turned for prayer).

It becomes somewhat curious to calculate the power that would be required to set this mass in motion. It contains five hundred cubic yards; and as the stone is a calcareous compound, exceedingly hard and compact, each cubic yard must weigh at least six thousand pounds, which causes the entire weight of the block to be three million pounds. It would consequently require an engine of twenty thousand horse-power to set it in motion; or the constant and simultaneous effort of nearly

forty thousand men to carry it a distance of a single yard in each second of time. We feel perfectly astounded at this calculation, and ask ourselves if we were not dreaming, when we fancied we saw before our eyes these immense masses, after they had been transported to a distance of a thousand yards, and placed on a height exceeding thirty feet from the ground, on the top of other masses nearly as prodigious, and joined together with the minute precision, which consummate workmen might have shown in the assemblage of small stones, scarcely exceeding one or two cubic yards in extent.

What engines could have been used by the race who displaced and worked these tremendous masses, no one can decide; though it is most likely that ropes dragged by vast columns of men acting together, sledges, rollers, and the use of the inclined plane, were the only mechanical means to which they could resort, to accomplish this wonderful achievement. The presence of the holes for cramp-hooks, intended to seize the blocks, seems to prove this; but even when these means are explained to us, we are not much enlightened, and the result remains as inconceivable as ever. What sledges and rollers could have endured such a weight, without being immediately crushed into atoms? I forbear to seek further explanation of a fact totally beyond my comprehension.

Within a trifling distance of Bâalbek, and long before we reached the quarry, we saw and passed by a *Tburbeh*, held in great veneration by the Mussulmen. This is the tomb of a daughter of Aly, which our friend Mohammed calls Kholeh-bent-el-Imam-Aaly. From the

quarry, we have inclined to the right, across the plain, to draw near a ruined structure, ornamented with columns, and named Koubbet-Douris, which lies on the road to Zahleh. This ruin, in which some travellers have fancied that they recognised an ancient monument, is merely a deserted Mohammedan chapel. Eight shafts of columns taken from the ruins of Heliopolis, support an octagonal cornice of Arabian workmanship. This construction has, however, been arranged so awkwardly that one of the columns is placed with its head downwards, the cornice actually resting on the base of the shaft. The Koubbet-Douris consequently does not possess any archæological interest. A thousand yards further on, and to the left, we descry the village of Douris. We continue marching on for nearly another hour, and then cross a rivulet called Nabâa-Hazir (the spring of Hazir). Beyond this we alight for breakfast.

After half an hour's halt, we mount our horses again, and soon reach a kind of pool, with a very gentle, quiet rivulet running from it? This is the Ayn-Altoun, where we pause to water our horses. We have then on the height to our right, the village called Tâalyah. At some distance further on, we cross a small morass called Haouch-es-Senin. Beyond this appears, to the right, the village of Temnin-et-Tahtah; and next, to the left, the village of Ablah. After a little further advance, we descry, on the flank of the Lebanon, the village of Temnin-el-Fouqah. After this, but at a considerable distance, appears at nearly the same height on the Lebanon, the village of El-Fourzoun. We then soon pass to the right of a mound, occupied by the village of

Naby-Nouh, where the Mohammedans place Noah's tomb. After this we go close by the houses of the two adjacent villages of El-Moallakat-el-Fouqah and Et-Tahtah, and enter at last the vast defile, whence the Nahr-Bardouneh flows, and on both flanks of which are built, in the shape of an amphitheatre, the picturesque houses of the delightful little city of Zahleh, quite a modern place, and unquestionably destined to become the metropolis of the Christian cities of the Lebanon. Many habitations here are built in the European style, and on entering Zahleh, you would readily fancy you were in a pretty little town of the mountains in the south of France.

From Bâalbek to Zahleh, the traveller crosses obliquely the Beqâa, or plain of Cœlesyria, and he may easily judge of the value of this plain, which must possess the most extraordinary fertility, owing to the numerous water-courses by which it is intersected and irrigated. All these unite in the Léontes, to throw themselves ultimately into the sea, to the northward of Tyre, under the name of Nahr-el-Qasmieh. The land is perfectly cultivated everywhere, especially a few leagues to the southward of Bâalbek, while the immediate environs of Zahleh have quite the appearance of one of the richest countries in France.

Before turning westward to ascend to Zahleh, I observed in the plain two large mounds, regularly shaped and apparently artificial. In the distance, and as far as the horizon, can be descried three others of the same description, perhaps not quite so regular, but rising also above the plain. In my opinion, these immense masses of

earth, heaped up by the hand of time, represent monuments of an extremely remote period. If diggings and trenches could be opened there under intelligent direction, perhaps the secret of their origin would be revealed; but how are we to hope that such researches can ever be undertaken in this country, and under such a government? When I noticed from a distance these immense mounds, I could not help recollecting the one I had already observed, some months before, on the road to Nazareth, and at the extremity of the plain of Acre; this first had seemed to me to bear some resemblance to the tumuli of Nineveh; and the same remark may apply to the five large tumuli of Cœlesyria, situated within sight of Zahleh.

We were agreeably surprised, as we had to pass through the whole town in quest of our lodgings, to hear at every step the children of Zahleh crying out, "Bonjour, Monsieur!" whilst they followed us through streets, where the ground being furrowed by dreadful ruts, presents at this moment an uninterrupted series of deep puddles. After having crossed the Bardouneh over a substantially built bridge, we climbed up to the upper part of that section of the town which is situated on the right bank, and have taken up our abode in the house of the widow of a Frenchman, lately deceased, and who had exercised the double profession of a physician and apothecary. The lodging is excellent, and particularly clean. We hope to enjoy here a real night's rest, of which we are greatly in need, for from Bâalbek to Zahleh, we have marched nearly eight hours without halting, excepting only for breakfast, and

scarcely allowed ourselves half an hour for that necessary refreshment.

After dinner we met with another very agreeable surprise. Two Jesuit priests, established in Zahleh, and in whose hands are placed all the young children of the town, whether Christians or Druses, came to pay us a visit of ceremony. One of them, Father Philippe, is a Frenchman, born near Besançon; the other, Father Paul, is an Italian. For above an hour, these two respectable clergymen deeply interested us, by detailed and accurate information concerning the different populations of the Lebanon. By half-past nine o'clock the worthy fathers left us, and by ten we were all in bed.

March 18th.

We have left Zahleh rather early, and had to descend again into the plain of Cœlesyria, to regain the beaten track that crosses the range of the Lebanon. The weather at first was indifferent; but on the mountain it became exceedingly cold, and a chilling rain mixed with snow, gave us from time to time disagreeable warning that we were crossing a very elevated region. But I must not anticipate. As long as we were going down from Zahleh, and during the time that we continued marching along the foot of the Lebanon, the temperature was extremely mild; hedges planted with rose-bushes bordered the paths we were following; and we proceeded in this manner, until abreast of the village of Sâadeneyn, which we passed on our left. From this point we marched for some time due south, having exactly in our front a conical hill, surmounted by a

village called Qabb-Elias, which from a distance closely resembles a fortress. The hill of Qabb-Elias interrupts the issue of the Ouad, the right flank of which we must follow to enter the Lebanon.

A little beyond Sâadeneyn, also to the left of our road, is the village of Thâalabeyah, situated also in the plain. About the same distance from Zahleh appears, on the flank of the Lebanon, the village of Haouch-Echtourah. When abreast of Thâalabeyah, our course obliques considerably to the westward, and leaving at a considerable distance from us in the plain, and to our left, the village of Makseh, we ascend the mountain, by a road which is far from being kept up in thorough repair; but on this road, from distance to distance, we are sure to find some miserable khans, where caravans and travellers are in the habit of halting, and where they can procure at least fire and water.

The first khan we reach is called El-Khan Mouraïdjat; we pass it by, and halt for breakfast under a shed, resting with its back against the Khan-Mourad. A storm of rain, hail, and snow detains us there for nearly an hour. This khan is situated on the edge of a deep precipice, from the bottom of which rises the murmur of a torrent. Nothing can be more dismal than the sight of the Khan-Mourad, which recalls some of the forbidding points on the road of Mount-Cenis.

As soon as the rain is over we resume our march across a succession of ridges covered with large flakes of snow, which supply the younger members of our party with war-ammunition for a school-boys' skirmish. The next khan we meet is called El-Khan-el-Modahredj, close to a

very difficult pass through a rocky ravine, which I would have grumbled at most heartily, if it had not been fragrant with the sweet perfume of many delicious blue hyacinths, growing wildly in all directions. Still further on, we pass before the Khan-Ayn-Sofar, to stop at the Khan-er-Roueiçat, where we decide to halt for the night. Behamdoun was the place we had purposed to reach; but it is growing late, we are tired, and besides it would oblige us to go needlessly out of our way to attain this village, which we can descry at about a league to the southward of the Khan-er-Roueiçat, and has the further disadvantage of not being on the direct road to Beyrout, where we are now anxious to arrive as soon as possible.

The Khan-er-Roueiçat is situated on an eminence much lower than the crest of the Lebanon; and there are no longer snow-flakes visible here; all are melted already. To the northward, at a distance of a few hundred yards, a large and very deep valley opens, covered with Christian and Drusic villages, and planted with innumerable trees. This is, without any question, one of the finest and richest valleys of the Lebanon.

Taking advantage of the few hours of daylight still remaining, we make a successful search round the khan in search of coleoptera and molluscæ. The Abbé also botanises with reasonable success. During our meal two tourists, one of them a Frenchman, and the other a Swiss, have established themselves under two small huts, in close proximity to our khan. As these gentlemen have not manifested the slightest wish to exchange even

a bow with us, we have stood on the same reserve, and passed our evening gaily, anticipating that to-morrow we shall reach Beyrout. We retired to bed very early, and our usual nocturnal companions abstained from visiting us, to our extreme satisfaction.

March 20th, and days following.

This morning, the joy of arriving without any unfortunate accident at the end of our journey caused us to awake long before daybreak. It was still only the light of the moon, when we fancied it was dawn; and it was scarcely half-past three o'clock in the morning, but we were anxious to start with the very first glimpse of day, and hastened our usual preparations, so that when the uncertain moment arrived, which is no longer night and yet not day, and we were able to distinguish objects placed a hundred yards before us, we left the Khan-er-Roueiçat in a due westerly direction.

During some time we travelled along the fine valley of which I have previously spoken, and were able to judge at leisure of its beauty and fertility. This valley is the one from which the river flows that runs to the northward of Beyrout (Nabr-Beyrout). By the side of our road, and at a distance of about an hour and a half's march from the Khan-er-Roueiçat, I observed in a field, situated on the north crest of the valley, two or three ancient sarcophagi, similar to those of El-Khaldah. Evidently there are archæological discoveries to be made in this quarter of the mountain. The khans in the neighbourhood of the ruins are called Khan-el-Machrah and Khan-el-Kahaleh.

After leaving the Khan-er-Roueiçat, we first met the Khan-Husseyn, then the Khan-el-Machrah (khan of the fine green sward), then the Khan-el-Kahaleh (kahaleh is the name of a plant of the genus *calendula*). On arriving at this spot, the prospect is one of the most wonderful that can be imagined. The beholder sees, stretched out at his feet, the rich plain of Beyrout, commanded by the snow-clad summits of the Lebanon, and beyond it, as far as the eye can reach, the blue waves of the Phœnician sea. After the Khan-el-Kahaleh, the descent begins in earnest, but by such abominable roads, that it becomes miraculous if one horse out of every two does not break his rider's neck. I preferred descending this pass on foot, and found I had done wisely, notwithstanding the excessive heat which we began to feel from nine in the morning, or rather from the moment when we began descending the western declivity of the Lebanon. I remarked a particular spot, where the road winds with great difficulty through masses of iron-stone, between which a streamlet rushes down, coming from a neighbouring spring. Beautiful plants, covered with flowers, show themselves everywhere: and at the foot of these rocks are two or three huts, called El-Rhazar (the place of abundance).

We had then reached an intermediate eminence between the summits and the plain. This eminence is well cultivated, and crossed by a very practicable road. We halt for breakfast at the next khan, carefully sheltering ourselves from the sun behind the walls of the building. This is called the Khan-el-Djambour

(khan of the sandy eminence). After an hour's rest, we resume our journey, and continuing to descend, pass before the Khan-ech-Chyakh. And finally, we find ourselves on the summit of the last zig-zag declivities, leading to the plain of Beyrout. We soon pass over them, and from the Khan-el-Djedid, situated at the foot of the hill, begin to cross the plain which still divides us from the town. By a quarter to one o'clock, we entered the sandy tract, and by exactly one o'clock reached the gate of Beyrout; the same gate from which we had issued ninety-seven days before, to commence our wanderings in the Holy Land.

We had not a single accident to lament; we had gathered immense collections of every kind; we had had the good fortune to discover many facts totally unknown before; and, as a last blessing, we had the deep satisfaction of having accomplished successfully a journey, which nobody before us had attempted, with impunity. Wherever a danger had appeared, wherever an obstacle had arisen, obstacle and danger vanished without any further interference on our part than submission to a power stronger than human will. We must have been ungrateful indeed not to acknowledge, from the bottom of our hearts, that Providence had kindly watched over us in removing the difficulties of the road during the entire course of our pilgrimage. We had placed our trust in the Almighty, and our confidence was repaid by incessant and merciful protection.

Once more we are in Beyrout, and have taken up our quarters again in the Hôtel Audibairt, where we have resumed with great satisfaction the habits of our former

sojourn. It would be perfectly uninteresting to enter into the details of our occupations during the intervening days between the 20th March and the 5th of April, when we definitively left the shores of Syria. I shall merely say, that our Beyrout friends never ceased to entertain us by every kind of festival, and to show us all the attention in their power. Our evenings were spent with them, but during the day we rambled in the neighbouring country to continue our entomological or botanical researches, always attended with the richest discoveries.

Our friends, Belly and Loysel, went to pass three or four days at En-Naby-Younis, and the first of these two gentlemen brought back from that place a number of sketches, from which, at some future time, they hope to produce admirable pictures. The Abbé Michon continued herbalising during three days in the Lebanon, and brought back from Beit-Meri, and the Deir-el-Qalaah, adjoining that village, some impressions of the ancient inscriptions still visible there. One of these inscriptions has become famous by the very clever work of our illustrious countryman Letronne, to which it gave rise. The inscription had revealed to him the existence of an ancient aqueduct, which he found at a distance of three or four leagues from that place, on the Nahr-Beyrout. Unfortunately, the impressions, and consequently the stone, do not bear out, and compel us to reject the lesson, so ably conceived by the learned Hellenist, from the study of a defective copy of the text in question.

Edward, on his part, went to visit the ruins of Beit-

Meri, and returned with some highly interesting sketches, which he kindly placed at my disposal. I confess, to my very great shame, that the fatigue of the preceding days has taken away from me all inclination to rambling again along the paths of the Lebanon, merely for the purpose of exploring some already well-known ruins, which I erroneously conceived as being of small importance. I therefore allowed Edward to go alone with his faithful Philippe, and in the meanwhile remained at home, busily employed in putting in order the numerous stores I had accumulated during our journey.

There was, however, one locality which I could not abstain from visiting, and which I was fully resolved to see, whatever might be the additional fatigue it was likely to entail upon me. This was the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb (the Lycus of the ancients), a very celebrated place with archæologists, on account of the Assyrian and Egyptian basso-relievos hewn in the rock, which for a long time were said to exist there. To behold real Assyrian monuments in their original position, the reader may conceive was an object of the deepest interest. I therefore prepared with enthusiastic anticipation for our day's ramble to the Nahr-el-Kelb. My friend, Michel Medaouar, always kind and amiable, insisted upon doing once more the honours of his country, and hearing of our plan to spend a few hours on the banks of the Lycus, requested the pleasure of treating us to a breakfast in this delightful excursion, on which he determined to accompany us. I need scarcely say that we accepted his offer with ready satisfaction.

On the appointed day, we had assembled by nine o'clock in the morning before the door of Medaouar, who was waiting for us, and immediately proceeded on our march. As far as the bridge crossing the Nahr-Beyrout, we were already perfectly well acquainted with the country, but beyond the bridge it was new to us. We continued by the line of the beach, winding a few hundred yards off, near the foot of the declivities of the Lebanon, on the flank of which appear some delightful hills, covered for the most part with fine evergreens, sometimes reaching a remarkable size. We crossed at a ford, a tolerably wide but rather shallow river, called Nahr-Anteliyas, and finally reached the Ras-Nahr-el-Kelb. At this point the modern road ascends rapidly, following the direction of the ancient track. At the foot, and to the south-west of the Ras, or promontory, the rocks have been excavated, and present numerous indications of having been anciently worked as quarries. At the top of the promontory is shown a kind of pedestal, hewn out of the mass of the rock, upon which local tradition pretends that there had been formerly erected a colossal form of a dog or wolf. It is supposed that this figure was thrown down and hurled into the sea; and in confirmation of this tradition, they show a block lying under the water, which, to a certain extent, bears some resemblance to the body of a dog or wolf. In the vicinity of the pedestal, I discovered upon a fragment of the shaft of a round pillar, a worn-out, much effaced inscription, the meaning of which it is very difficult to decipher, on account of the miserable state of preservation. These are the letters I am able, or rather

which I thought I was able to make out, and which I prudently subjoin without explanation :—

. . . . . M . . II
. . . . . GERM . . .
. . . . . EMPERA . .
. . . . . CICICONS. .
. . . . . HLVIA-O. .
. . . . . SILYICON .
. . . . . NONI . . .

Beyond this promontory, the road goes down a steep declivity through a trench in the rock, forming a succession of abrupt ledges ; all traces of the levelling of the ancient path having now completely disappeared. At the foot of the declivity flows the Nahr-el-Kelb, on the bank of which is established a miserable khan. Some hundred yards further on, is a bridge by which travellers pass to the opposite bank, at a spot where a canal turns off a portion of the water in the direction of a mill. The left bank, where the khan stands, on the immediate edge of the river, has been cut perpendicularly by the hand of man.

Close to the bridge, the surface of the rock presents, in a cartouche of five feet in length, the ears of which are seven inches broad, an inscription, in all probability, published before, but which I nevertheless think of sufficient importance to print again.

IMP CAES M AVRELIVS
ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
PART · MAX · BRIT · MAX · GERM · MAXIMVS.
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS.
MONTIBVS IMMINENTIBVS
LYCO FLVMINI CAESIS VIAM DELATAVIT
PER . . . . . .
ANTONINIANVM SVAM.

With the exception of the word PER, the whole of

the seventh line has been subsequently hammered out; perhaps because the name of the legion which had accomplished this work was afterwards condemned to oblivion, on account of the soldiers composing it having been guilty of some rebellion. The eighth line bears Antoninianum Suam, instead of Antoninianam Suam. I believe this error really exists in the inscription, since I find it in my copy taken on the spot; however, I do not positively assert this. Below the cartouche a kind of small cippus is carved in the shape of an altar, surmounted by a discus.

On this side, and nearer the mouth of the river, is a Turkish inscription totally illegible on account of the small elevation of the letters which are cut in relievo, and the quantity of lichens that have grown in every hollow.

I reach at length the most important monument. Above the khan, and a few yards to the right, as you ascend to the summit of the Ras, is a large rectangular frame carved in the rock, and ornamented with a cornice and lateral mouldings. The cornice is composed of a cavetto placed above a torus surmounting a listel and a plat-band; the plat-band alone being as wide as the torus and listel united. At the two upper angles of the surface enclosed within the frame are pierced holes, having unquestionably served to receive hinges or cramp-irons, for the purpose of fixing a metallic plate—perhaps a marble one—in the frame for which it had been prepared. That this plate formerly contained an Assyrian text appears to me unquestionable.

At a distance of about five yards to the right of this

frame is to be seen, on a surface carved in the shape of a Stelé in the rock, and extending a little more than six feet in height, by four feet and a half in breadth, the figure of an Assyrian king wearing upon his head the Persian cap, and holding up his right hand. This figure is completely worn out and erased, so that merely its general mass is now distinguishable. At a distance of two yards further on is another Stelé, also containing an Assyrian figure, of which the head is only recognisable; this second Stelé is about fifteen feet high by nearly five broad.

Twenty yards beyond, and at about ten yards above the path, is another Assyrian Stelé in better preservation than the preceding ones. It is set all around, as in a frame, with a wide plat-band, which also forms an archivolt above.

Thirty yards still further on, and ten yards higher up than the third, is a fourth Assyrian Stelé, more than six feet high, and above three feet broad, set also in a plat-band. To the right of, and only eight inches distant from the last, is a square-framed space higher than the Stelé, and purposely adjoined to it with the object of receiving an Assyrian text. The surrounding frame, formed of a simple plat-band, is surmounted by a cornice composed of the upper plat-band of the frame itself, supported by a torus, above which rises a tolerably large cavetto crowned by another plat-band projecting upon the rock. This cornice is identical with the monolithic monument of Silöam, and also with one of the buildings of Nineveh discovered by M. Botta at Khorsabad. The surface with the surrounding frame-

work is exactly the same height as the Stelé, and at the four angles are holes, in which iron cramp-hooks, or hinges, must have been fastened. The nature of the metal is clearly indicated by the colour which the rock has contracted within these holes. With regard to the surface itself it is perfectly bare, and has never received the slightest ornament or attempt at a bas-relief.

At a distance of fifteen yards to the right of the two last sculptures which I have just described, and one yard higher up, is another Assyrian Stelé, set in a frame composed of a plat-band rather more than three inches broad, surrounded by another irregular exterior plat-band of eight inches broad. The surface of this Stelé is hollowed out to a depth of three inches, and upon the bottom is traced a large figure of an Assyrian king; the Stelé is about seven feet high, and three feet eight inches broad at the base, narrowing a little at the summit.

Lastly, at the distance of thirty additional yards, and fifteen yards higher up, is a fine frame surrounding a surface five feet and a half high, by three feet eight inches broad. This, like the others, is surrounded by a plat-band having in the upper part a more complicated cornice. The plat-band here supports a narrow listel, surrounded by a small inclined plane, upon which rests the ordinary cornice formed of a torus, a cavetto, and a plat-band. Here again the surface thus framed in, shows unquestionable signs of the presence of the iron cramp-hooks, which were formerly fixed into the four angles to fasten a metal plate of some description. Immediately to the right of the vacant surface enclosed

within this frame is a Stelé, of much smaller dimension than the frame itself, and situated a little below it. This Stelé contains a royal Assyrian figure in better preservation than the others, although materially damaged. The monarch grasps a mace in his left hand, while he holds up his right hand as a sign of command. Above the right are still distinctly to be seen two lines of symbols. These are, in the upper line, a star, a round discus, and the *mihir*, or winged discus. In the inferior line is a sceptre, then two parallel wands, then a globe, from which verge downwards three rays, or strings, formed by the same number of globules. This last symbol is identical with the hieroglyphics used to express light.

The head is still in tolerable preservation, and the hair and beard are braided with great care, as is always the case in all the Assyrian basso-relievos which have been discovered. This fine Stelé, of which we have in Europe several plaster casts, obtained by the care and skill of M. Bonomi, was covered with cuneiform characters, now completely illegible, with the exception of a very few isolated symbols. These, however, are quite sufficient to characterise at once a Ninivite text.

After having carefully and leisurely studied these venerable remains, I asked myself where were the Egyptian basso-relievos carved by order of Sesostris, of which so much has been said, and of which imaginary sketches have actually been given. I positively and openly declare that these Egyptian basso-relievos, as well as the hieroglyphical texts appended to them, are a mere invention; and this forgery is the more unskilful, as the

very parties who published it, have been silly enough to place the basso-relievos within the surfaces set round with frame-work accompanying the Assyrian Stelés; whilst they have allowed the traces of the hooks to remain;—traces which they have even exactly copied, without reflecting that their presence sufficiently demonstrates the forgery of the basso-relievos, which never could have been intended to remain for ever concealed behind a plate of metal, or marble, fastened over them with four substantial cramp-irons. Besides, these surfaces are perfectly smooth, and have never been carved any more than the cornices upon which the same persons have pretended to place some winged disks according to the Egyptian fashion. The presence of the Egyptian sculptures at the Nahr-el-Kelb must consequently be numbered amongst the forgeries, upon which unfortunately some scholars, with perfect good faith, have wasted their sagacity, without being aware that they were chasing as empty a chimera as the golden tooth.

At all events, I enjoy the satisfaction of not being alone in my opinion. All the well-informed Frenchmen residing in Beyrout are perfectly aware that there is no Egyptian bas-relief at the Nahr-el-Kelb, and my young and learned friend, M. J. Oppert, on his passage through Beyrout, as he was proceeding to Mesopotamia, in company with M. Fresnel, has written to me, after having visited the Nahr-el-Kelb, a letter, in which he treats as severely as it deserves the paltry archæological fraud, which at my suggestion he had gone to investigate.

After a delightful day spent on the banks of the

Lycus, a day from which botany, entomology, and conchology also derived considerable profit, we returned by night to Beyrout, and as we reached home, enjoyed once more one of those magnificent sunsets which cannot be paralleled in the whole world, owing to the splendid outlines of the landscape.

Time hurried rapidly on, and days flitted past, in the midst of the delightful indolence of eastern life, and the attentions we received from the entire French colony. The 5th of April soon arrived, and on awaking in the morning, we were informed that the steamer *Le Caire* had arrived by dawn in the harbour, and was to weigh anchor again the same evening, as soon as the dispatches were on board. All our preparations were long completed, our luggage was immediately embarked, and after having taken an affectionate farewell of our friends, we left, at four o'clock in the evening, the pleasant land of Syria, in which we had passed so many happy days.

On board the *Caire*, we were welcomed as friends by the whole body of officers, and particularly by the commander of the vessel, M. de Grollier, who managed every thing so well that our passage seemed to us but another continued festival to be added to those we had previously enjoyed in Beyrout. On the third day, at dawn, we anchored in the port of Alexandria, whence we sailed again the same evening before sunset, touching at Malta, where we remained an entire day. We passed the shore of the island of Maritimo, then rounded the extreme point of Sicily; steamed through the picturesque channel of Bonifacio, coasting at the same time Sardinia and Corsica, and on the morning of the 16th of

April, anchored before Marseilles, in the port of Frioul, where we were obliged to remain forty-eight hours in quarantine. Within eleven days we had voyaged from Beyrout to Marseilles. Providence had decided to favour us to the very end of our journey.

Two years have elapsed since my return to France. I still reflect with unceasing satisfaction upon the productive journey it has been my favoured lot to accomplish in the Holy Land. I often regret the soft and hallowed emotions I experienced there, and which are engraved upon my heart in enduring characters. But oftener still, the hope revives that I have not bid an eternal adieu to Jerusalem, the holy city, and to the cherished land of the patriarchs.

April 16*th*, 1853.

THE END.

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